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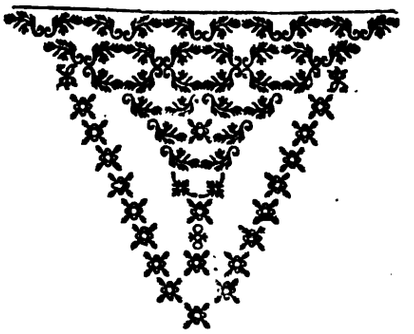

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CONTENTS

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OBSERVATIONS ON THE GREEKS.

BOOK I.

CONCERNING *the manners of the ancient Greeks. Republican government ſubſtituted in the room of monarchical. The general form of government in Greece, of which Lacedæmon becomes the capital. Obſervations on that form. The affairs of Greece involved with thoſe of the neighbouring powers. Xerxes carries the war into Greece.* — — page 1.

BOOK II.

OF *Revolutions in the general ſyſtem of Greece, conſequent to the Median war.—Athens becomes the ruling power.—Reflections on its intereſts.—Examen of the adminiſtration of Cimon and Pericles.—Of the Peloponneſian war.—The ſupreme power of Athens overturned by the Spartans.—The authority of Lacedæmon incapable to ſupport itſelf.—Of the Theban glory under the auſpices of Epaminondas.* page 37.

BOOK III.

SITUATION *of Athens, Sparta, and other ſtates of Greece, at the acceſſion of Philip to the throne of Macedon. Of that monarch's political ſyſtem.—Of Demoſthenes, and Phocion. —Account of Perſia at the commencement of the war with Alex-*

CONTENTS.

Alexander.—Reflections on the conduct, and depravity of that hero. — — — page 74.

BOOK IV.

CONTENTIONS *among the ſucceſſors of Alexander.—Survey of the Macedonian empire.—What conduct Greece ought to have obſerved at that period.—Origin of the eſtabliſhment, and regulations of the Achaian league.—Defence of the policy of Aratus againſt the accuſations of Plutarch.—Injudicious conduct of Philip of Macedon, during the ſecond Punic war.—Vanquiſhed by the Romans.—Progreſs of the latter in Greece, till its reduction to a Roman province.* — — — page 113.

OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
GREEKS.
FROM THE FRENCH
OF THE
ABBÉ DE MABLY.

RERUM COGNOSCERE CAUSAS. *Virg.*

DEDICATION.

TO THE

Abbé de R * * * * *

I cannot, my dear Abbé, deny myſelf the pleaſure of giving you a publick teſtimony of my eſteem and regard; but be not apprehenſive that I ſhall abuſe the privilege of a dedicator. However delightful it is to expatiate on the virtues of a friend, I will be ſilent, and ſacrifice to your delicacy all the encomiums due to your merit. The work addreſſed to you is only a ſeries of reflections upon the GOVERNMENT, POLICY, and MANNERS of the *Greeks*; and an endeavour to inveſtigate the cauſes of their riſe, and declenſion.

Hiſtory, conſidered in this light, is a ſchool of philoſophy. It teaches us the knowledge of the world; expounds,

DEDICATION.

and enoble our reason, by discriminate observations on the wisdom and folly of past ages.

The Romans excepted, no people in all antiquity have acquired a greater share of reputation than the Greeks, nor has any country given birth to men of more extraordinary excellence in every branch of science, arms, or philosophy, than theirs. A sufficient reason for believing, that no part of history affords a more agreeable entertainment to laudable curiosity. Should my efforts to please the publick meet with approbation, it will be a flattering consideration to me that this monument, sacred to our friendship, is placed in the front of a work not destined to oblivion; but calculated to commemorate those sentiments which inviolably unite our souls.

OBSERVATIONS.

ON THE

GREEKS.

BOOK THE FIRST.

A SUMMARY OF BOOK I.

CONCERNING *the manners of the ancient Greeks. Republican government ſubſtituted in the room of monarchical. The general form of government in Greece, of which Lacedæmon becomes the capital. Obſervations on that form. The affairs of Greece involved with thoſe of the neighbouring powers. Xerxes carries the war into Greece.*

HISTORY repreſents the firſt inhabitants of Greece as wandering at large from one part of the country to another; unconnected by ſocial intercourſe, their mutual diſtruſt obliged them to appear conſtantly armed. They reſembled thoſe uncivilized nations of America who have had no commerce with the Europeans. Force decided all controverſies, and the ſtronger oppreſſed the weaker; they ſubſiſted entirely by rapine, inattentive to the cultivation of the ſoil; and had no eager deſire to amaſs wealth, which muſt have been defended againſt plunderers whoſe intrepidity encreaſed in proportion to the richneſs of the booty. For whatever injuries the Greeks endured from each other, they had ſtill more dangerous enemies to contend with. According

cording to the report of hiſtorians, the natives of the adjacent iſlands, a people of ſtill greater ferocity of manners, made frequent deſcents upon the coaſts of Greece, ravaged the ſhore, and were often tempted by the luſt of plunder, or rather of devaſtation, to penetrate into the heart of the country.

Some writers have extended their enquiries to a more diſtant period than this barbarous age; and Dicearchus, (who, according to Porphyry, is the only philoſopher who paints the original manners of the Greeks in their true colours,) delineates ſages whoſe lives were calm and contented; whilſt the earth, attentive to their neceſſities, was ſpontaneouſly prodigal of her bleſſings, without tillage. The golden age, which ought to be regarded only as the poets dream, was an eſtabliſhed principle in ancient philoſophy. Plato, in his *Common-Wealth*, deſcribes Aſtrea's empire over the firſt men: but we know what degree of credibility is to be given to tales of moſſy carpets, flowery garlands, mellifluous concerts, and all that ſweet enthuſiaſm of indolence, which conſtituted the charm of a ſociety where the more turbulent paſſions were unknown.

Under the reign of the ſecond Minos, Greece was delivered from part of the calamities that afflicted her. From the time the grandfather of this prince had taught the Cretans to be happy in obeying laws whoſe wiſdom made them one of the wonders of the world, that nation became puffed up with its acknowledged ſuperiority in ſagacity and ſtrength, and could not forbear deſpiſing the ignorance and imbecility of its neighbours. A ſentiment of ambition was ſoon awakened. Minos the ſecond, ſtill more aſpiring than his ſubjects, took advantage of this favourable diſpoſition; conſtructed ſhips of war, exerciſed his people in the art of navigation, reduced the neighbouring iſlands, and planted colonies.

Intereſted

Intereſted to maintain a free communication between the different parts of his dominions, he cleared the ſea of the pyrates that infeſted it; and the ſecurity he procured his people proved beneficial to Greece. There is no improbability in ſuppoſing this firſt effect of civil ſociety might give the Greeks an idea of ſtill more ineſtimable benefits: but whether apprehenſion of danger was the motive that firſt aſſociated families, and inſtructed them to guard againſt inſults, by defending the approach to their habitations; or whether this wiſe inſtitution is to be attributed to one of thoſe heroes or demigods, ſo frequent in the times of barbariſm, remains uncertain. So far we know, that pillage from that æra became a more difficult and dangerous employment. The banditti, diſappointed in their expectations, relied leſs upon the proweſs of their arms; and finding themſelves often at the end of their reſources, were at length reduced to the neceſſity of providing ſubſiſtence from manual labour. This gave birth to ſociety, till by degrees all Greece was divided into diſtricts, and the novelty of this arrangement occaſioned a revolution in genius.

The Athenians, ſays Thucydides, were the firſt people who renounced the itinerant ſtate. The want of fertility in the ſoil of Attica was a reaſon that the Greeks, who took refuge there, were leſs moleſted by foreign invaſions. Their poverty, which ſtimulated to labour, was more uſeful to them, than that plenty and repoſe which might have attracted the envy of ſtrangers. The paſſions, which now began to unfold, opened a path to induſtry and legiſlation: acquiſitions in knowledge encreaſed as neceſſity indicated the want of them; and became gradually diffuſed throughout Greece.

Hiſtorians are either totally ſilent upon this ſecond æra of Greece, where each hamlet was an independent community;

or, if they do mention it, relate ſuch marvellous events as ſurpaſs all belief. The ſiege of Troy ſeems to have united theſe detached parties in one common enterprize; and by the lights we may draw from Homer, an opinion prevailed that they originally ſprung from one common ſource. They appear to have been unſkilled in war, but to have made a conſiderable progreſs in the principles of natural liberty and government, though their manners were as yet exceedingly unpoliſhed.

Greece experienced various revolutions on the cloſe of the Trojan expedition. Many of her people had periſhed by the ſword, or were driven into exile from what they began to call their country. Thus the Beotians, forced from Arne by the Theſſalians, eſtabliſhed themſelves in Cadmeis, to which they gave their name. The face of Pelopenneſus became entirely changed by the reſtoration of the Heraclidæ. The inhabitants, vanquiſhed or intimidated, abandoned their country; and the very men who appeared incapable of defending their old poſſeſſions, ſhewed ſufficient reſolution and bravery in the conqueſt of new. Greece was overrun by wanderers eager to gain aſylums by violence, and to maintain themſelves in them by plunder. Military ſkill in ſubduing theſe invaders reſtored ſome appearance of order; but at the ſame time encreaſed the cauſes of enmity among the Greeks, and accuſtomed them to liſten only to the tranſports of reſentment, and to ſeize the moſt frivolous pretexts for plundering the territories of their neighbours.

The more fatal the conſequences of theſe diſſenſions, the more Greece became ſenſible of the weight of that barbariſm into which ſhe was relapſing. A people uninfluenced by motives of ambition, neceſſarily becomes diſguſted with thoſe misfortunes of which war is the ſource. Cities began to

enter

enter into treaties of alliance; and intereſt taught them to be juſt in their performance. They cultivated the lands they regarded as an inheritance, leſs reluctantly, and conſequently with leſs fatigue; and the more the enjoyment of a temporary tranquillity led them to conſider the value of a durable peace, the more indefatigable were they in the ſtudy of methods for its eſtabliſhment.

But the incorporating of the ſoldiers with the citizens, opened to the Greeks a ſource of intereſts and neceſſities of a new ſpecies. Senſible of the inſufficiency of their ancient inſtitutions, they ſaw the propriety of making improvements in the laws; and any material change in the interior principles of a conſtitution naturally occaſions domeſtick revolutions. Accordingly their kings, whoſe authority, as generals, had been very extenſive, finding it reduced by peace to the limited functions of civil magiſtracy, abuſed their credit with the people, in order to aggrandize their power; and were tempted to deſpoil them of their chief privileges, by converting their own employment of diſpenſers of the laws, into that of legiſlators. Ambition, cloathed in ruſticity of manners, had not then diſcovered the ſecret of diſguiſing its deſigns with addreſs, and borrowing the maſk of moderation, in order to work its purpoſes by imperceptible ſteps. Never did ambition want the aſſiſtance of *art* more than on this occaſion; when its machinations were oppoſed by indigent and reſolute men, whoſe lofty ſpirits were unſubdued by that train of paſſions, and by thoſe imaginary gratifications, which have enſlaved the minds of their deſcendants.

Scarcely had a few cities ſet an example, by throwing off the yoke, than all Greece panted for liberty. People, who juſt begin to breathe the air of freedom, are not ſatisfied with enjoying it ſelfiſhly. Whether from a perſuaſion that their

own liberty is intereſted to extirpate the dangerous example of tyranny in their neighbourhood; or whether it is the reſult of that enthuſiaſm with which the mind is animated in the firſt moments of any great revolution. Theſe cities were no ſooner free than they offered their aſſiſtance to all who were inclined to aboliſh monarchical government. The love of independence became, from that period, the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtick of the Greeks. The very name of monarchy was odious; and had any one of their cities groaned under the oppreſſion of a tyrant, it would have been conſidered by the reſt of Greece as a kind of national inſult.

The reciprocal ſervices rendered by the Greeks to each other, in the courſe of theſe revolutions, extinguiſhed the hatred which had formerly divided them: whilſt the common intereſt of liberty kindled in their breaſts the principles of a union they were already prepared to confirm, by the revival of ſeveral ancient ceremonies. Theſe were *general aſſemblies*, where the people offered the ſame ſacrifices to the ſame Divinities. The Olympic, Corinthian, and Nemæan games were ſolemn meetings of the ſeperate provinces of Greece; each being a kind of congreſs, for the conſideration of their general and particular political intereſts, ſubſequent to an exact and reſpectful performance of the duties of religion. Some diſtricts, alarmed with apprehenſions of their reſpective weakneſs, had entered into defenſive alliances; but when they beheld the happy ſituation of the cities which compoſed the Amphictyonic league, they were eager to be admitted into it; thinking their liberty and laws beſt ſecured under the auſpices of that powerful and reſpectable confederacy. Thus the intereſts of the ſtates of Greece became in reality inſeparable, and formed one great republick.

This league, one of the moſt ancient eſtabliſhments of Greece,

Greece, was founded by Amphictyon, the third king of Athens. By this inſtitution he united, in the ſtricteſt bonds, the neighbouring ſtates, [a] who every year ſent deputies to Delphos and Thermopylæ, to deliberate on the general and particular ſtate of their affairs. They engaged, by a ſolemn oath, never to violate the rights of the temple of Delphos; but, on the contrary, to revenge in concert all ſacrilegious attempts on its privileges.

The council of Amphictyons, ſo commendable for piety to the Gods, prudence in preventing, or terminating diſputes among the ſeveral members of the league, as well as for diſintereſted juſtice in regard to differences with foreign powers, undoubtedly communicated a ſhare of its ſpirit to all Greece, and was conſidered as the general aſſembly of her ſtates. It does not ſeem credible, however, that affairs could be conducted with an equal degree of wiſdom, as when fewer cities were included in the aſſociation. How many political inſtitutions do we meet with, whoſe advantages are entirely loſt by extending them beyond their original bounds? The commonalty of Greece formerly caught ſomewhat of the upright and gentle manners of the council of Amphictyons, the latter, now, adopted more of the ſevere and ferocious genius of their countrymen. The avenues to the council of Amphictyons, when contracted within a ſmall circle, were inacceſſible to intrigue and cabal; but became [b] open to both when the enlargement of the circle admitted a vaſt number

[a] We have no preciſe account who were the firſt ſtates that compoſed the council of Amphictyons. The moſt ancient liſt come down to us, enumerates the Ionians, Dorians, Magneſians, Phthyotæ, Phoceans, Melians, Theſſalians, Beotians, Perrhœbeans, Locrians, Oetheans, and Dolopians.

[b] At the concluſion of the war with Xerxes, the Lacedæmonians demanded that the Amphictyons would baniſh from their council, the deputies of thoſe cities which had deſerted the intereſt of their country, to embrace that of Perſia. Themiſtocles

of republicks, unequal in ſtrength and reputation. Their authority conſiſted in their unanimity; but the exceſſive increaſe in the number of deputies rendered this unanimity in a manner impracticable.

If the character of ſimple mediators was altogether ſufficient, for impoſing their influence on allies who were fond of peace, and had no ſeperate intereſt to purſue, this was not the caſe when the league grew more multifarious. It then became neceſſary that the council of Amphictyons ſhould be regarded as a tribunal, [*c*] from which there was no appeal; and whoſe uncontroverted decrees ſhould arm all Greece, in oppoſition to any rebellious power.

Fortunately for Greece, a concurrence of circumſtances had hitherto preſerved that ſpirit of concord which the council of Amphictyons inſpired; but which, from the nature of her conſtitution, could not be permanent. One reaſon againſt it was, a cuſtom of long date practiſed by Greece, of diſencumbering herſelf of thoſe [*d*] ſupernumerary citizens ſhe was unable

tocles oppoſed this demand; apprehending, ſay the hiſtorians of that age, that if the Argives, Theſſalians, and Thebans, nations ſteadfaſtly devoted to the welfare of Athens, were excluded from the council, the Lacedemonians would have the advantage in plurality of voices, and become maſters in every queſtion.

[*c*] The *oath* adminiſtered to the repreſentatives who compoſed the council of Amphictyons, clearly proves that each city in the league preſerved an entire independence: and that this council, very nearly reſembling the *general diet* of the Swiſs Cantons, had no right to make laws for each city in the aſſociation, or to paſs ſovereign decrees relative to their particular differences. Had it enjoyed ſuch a privilege, the deputies would, doubtleſs, have been engaged to render juſtice without regard to particular intereſts, and have promiſed, in the name of their reſpective cities, to ſubmit to the determinations of the council.

]*d*] Politicians have, not without reaſon, condemned this cuſtom; ſince colonies were never of any utility to the countries from whence they derived their origin. Beſides, the remoteneſs of ſituation, which neceſſitated them to regulate their conduct in conformity to their new intereſts, theſe emigrants frequently forgot the mother country; or maintained no other intercourſe with it than by ambaſſadors, authorized

ble to ſupport, by planting colonies abroad, inſtead of employing their force in the conqueſt of territories for the publick emolument. A cuſtom that retained each republick in its primitive debility, and, in admoniſhing it not to undertake any foreign enterprize, made it every day more ſenſible of its incapacity, by the diminution of people, in defenſive wars. The Greeks, reſtrained by the council of Amphictyons, from forming ſchemes to enrich one republick at the expence of another, wanted the neceſſary reſolution to execute plans of ambition; and though their diſſenſions ſometimes occaſioned ſlight diſorders, they never broke in upon the fundamental principles of their union.

Whilſt the weakneſs of Greece was inſtrumental in ſupporting the reputation of the Amphictyons, their authority acquired additional ſtrength from the inteſtine diviſions that diſturbed the tranquillity of each republick. It may be proper to recollect, that at the annihilation of monarchy in Greece, chance alone had decided the ſpecies of government that ſucceeded. Laws were haſtily and inconſiderately made. Every individual ſought his own advantage in this revolution; ſtudious to inveſt himſelf with authority; and, in examining his ſituation comparatively, appeared equally diſſatisfied. Here, an imperious nobility wiſhed, under the ſanction of liberty, to become the tyrants of their country. There, an inſolent populace ſported with laws and magiſtrates. Everywhere the avidity and injuſtice of rich and poor, afforded matter

authorized to participate in the ſacrifices offered at certain ſolemnities. It is a known fact, that the Greeks eſtabliſhed in Italy and Sicily were unintereſted in the affairs of Greece; who, in her turn, neglected and ſuffered them to fall a prey to the Carthaginians and Romans. It was impoſſible that the cities of Greece, in delivering themſelves from the burthen of their citizens, ſhould be able to retain them in obedience. Theſe colonies muſt either form a government totally independant, or be degraded from the rank of citizens into that of ſubjects of Greece; ſince their diſtance would not admit of their having any ſhare in the publick adminiſtration.

matter for reciprocal complaint. The univerſal attention began now to be employed in the compilation of ſalutary laws; in fixing liberty on a more permanent baſis; in the diviſion and diſtribution of power among the different orders of citizens; and in aſcertaining their rights and privileges. The republicks, entirely occupied with theſe objects, of a far more intereſting nature than any foreign enterprize, confined their attention entirely to domeſtick affairs. They feared, courted, and reſpected each other; and this reciprocation of ſentiments, favoured their growing conjunction of intereſts.

Probably there was no reaſon to apprehend a renewal of the former ravages of war among the Greeks; but there was, however, a neceſſity that the preſent confederacy of her ſtates ſhould be eſtabliſhed on principles as wiſe as the moſt enlightened policy could deviſe. Inſtead of that ſubordination which maintained order, which taught the different republicks a regular arrangement, which gave them a chief without giving them a maſter, the extreme equality that then prevailed, could not fail being productive of new contentions, and of expoſing them to all the unhappy conſequences of anarchy. Greece required a more infallible *dictator* than the council of Amphictyons; whoſe authority was liable to ſuſpenſion, from diverſity of opinion in the members. It wanted, in one word, a maſter ſpring to regulate the movements of the whole machine, and either to procraſtinate, or accelerate its operations.

This deficiency was ſupplied by Lycurgus. The government he founded in Sparta rendered that city, in a manner, the arbitreſs of Greece. When this celebrated man found himſelf at the head of the adminiſtration, with the title of *regent*, during the minority of the king his nephew, Lacedæmon was not in a more advantageous ſituation than other Grecian republicks.

publicks. Her laws were treated with contempt; her two monarchs would rule deſpotically; and their ſubjects, not contented with liberty, abuſed it by running into licentiouſneſs. Proportionably to the addreſs or courage of the preponderating power, Lacedæmon aſpired, by turns, towards tyranny, or degenerated into anarchy.

Lycurgus reaſoned on different principles from other Grecian legiſlators; who, by ſtriving to accommodate matters and oblige all parties, contrived ſchemes of reformation that ſatisfied none; and left the rancorous weeds of diſſenſion unexterminated. A ſkillful legiſlator, before he compiles laws for a *great ſtate*, will ſtudy the manners, and prevailing diſpoſition of the people; becauſe the national genius will always overbalance the legiſlative authority. But when he is only to influence a *ſmall body of citizens*, who may be ſaid to compoſe one family, encloſed within the walls of the ſame city, leſs addreſs is requiſite. Lycurgus oppoſed the ſtrength of his ſingle genius to that of the Spartans united; nor did he believe it impracticable to intereſt them, either by hope or fear, to an immediate concurrence in the revolution he meditated; whilſt his courage prompted him to form the daring project of moulding them into a new people.

To accompliſh this, Lycurgus did not think it neceſſary to ſet aſide the conjunctive authority of the two branches of the family of Hercules, who ſwayed the ſceptre of Lacedæmon; but whilſt he indulged her kings in the enjoyment of abſolute power, at the head of their armies, he reduced them, within the walls of Sparta, to the rank of private citizens, ſubmiſſive to the laws. It was with the *people* that this legiſlator entruſted the ſovereign power; that is to ſay, the privilege to make laws; to decide war or peace; and to create magiſtrates. And, in order to remove their apprehenſions, and

prevent

prevent any jealous diſtruſt of infringements on their rights, which might introduce an oppreſſive democracy, Lycurgus appointed magiſtrates [e] who were to free them from the ſolicitude of watching over their own intereſts. He alſo created a ſenate, compoſed of the wiſeſt and moſt experienced citizens [f] in the republick. This reſpectable body exerciſed the offices of the civil magiſtracy, formed a council for the kings, who were prohibited from undertaking any enterprize without its approbation; and had only the right of propoſing in the publick aſſemblies ſuch points as were neceſſary to be debated.

The republick of Lycurgus was compoſed of all the excellencies in the different modes of political government. Here democracy was exempt from thoſe defects which are natural to it; becauſe that part of authority which a free people does not know how to exerciſe, and always abuſes, was delegated to ſelect magiſtrates; leaving the Spartans to enjoy, without alloy, the advantages ariſing from the union of liberty and patriotiſm in a popular government. Irreſolution, caprice, rage, violence, with the reſt of the evils that diſturbed the tranquillity of other Grecian ſtates, ſubject to the will of the people, were unknown in Sparta. On the other ſide, the regal power, and the ſenatorial authority were ſo equally balanced, and both ſo ſubordinate to thoſe of the people, as left no room to fear any encroachments; but, on the contrary, enriched that republick with the advantages peculiar to monarchy and aciſtocracy. The eſtabliſhment of a ſenate rendered the popular part of the conſtitution able to diſcuſs

[e] Plutarch is of opinion that King Theopompus, 130 years after the death of Lycurgus, created the Ephori, in order to reduce the too exorbitant power of the ſenate. An opinion that does not ſeem very probable.

[f] Sixty was the neceſſary age for a ſeat in the ſenate, the number of ſenators was 28, and their ſeats for life. Their nomination was in the people, and every citizen had an equal claim to that honour.

diſcuſs and comprehend its real intereſt, to diſtinguiſh the moſt eligible principles of action, and to perſevere in them invariably. In the field, their kings, then abſolute princes, procured the Spartans that celerity and diligence in martial operations, which is the ſoul of enterprize, the foundation of military ſucceſs, and is ſcarcely ever attainable by the generals of a free people.

However great the wiſdom of this political ſyſtem might be, Lycurgus regarded it as a tottering edifice, till his regulations had ſtrengthened its foundation in the morals of the people. Laws are calculated to form the manners, but manners muſt likewiſe protect the laws; and from the reciprocal action of both parts, this judicious legiſlator expected the perfection of his work.

What indeed availed the eſtabliſhment of order, if avidity for riches, and its inſeparable companion luxury, the ſources of inequality among citizens, making ſome tyrants, others ſlaves, were ſuffered, by inſenſible degrees, to interrupt the harmony of the ſtate? The populace, debaſed by indigence, too abject to diſpute their ſupremacy, would have flattered the vanity of the *great*; and the reigning princes, augmenting the channels of corruption, would have panted for arbitrary power. In order to render his countrymen worthy of liberty, Lycurgus eſtabliſhed a perfect equality in fortune; but he did not confine his views to a new diviſion of land, only.

This had been but a temporary advantage; Nature undoubtedly, neither beſtowed on every Lacedemonian the ſame paſſions, nor the ſame induſtry in the improvement of his paternal inheritance: conſequently the avaricious muſt very ſoon have accumulated poſſeſſions, by taking advantage of the indolence or prodigality of their fellow citizens. Sparta, ſo circumſtanced, muſt have ſought for remedies; but not

finding, perhaps, another ſtate-phyſician like Lycurgus, to reſtore the vigour of her conſtitution in this critical conjuncture, ſhe had undoubtedly ſunk under the tumultuous diſorders of anarchy, or at leaſt have been neceſſitated to abrogate her ſalutary inſtitutions, and ſubmit to a new ſyſtem of government.

To prevent ſuch conſequences, Lycurgus prohibited the uſe of gold and ſilver, and circulated iron money in his republick. He prevailed with the Spartans to dine at publick tables, where every citizen was obliged to give a conſtant example of the ſtricteſt temperance. No other tools were to be uſed by mechanics, in the furniture of houſes, but the ſaw and the hatchet. In a word, he bounded all deſires by the indiſpenſable demands of nature; interdicting all commerce with foreigners. [g] From this period the luxurious arts fled from Laconia; the inutility of riches rendered them comtemptible; and Sparta might be conſidered as a fortreſs inacceſſible to corruption. Her children, educated by the ſtate, were habituated, from infancy, to emulate the heroiſm of their anceſtors. The women, who introduce effeminacy of manners into moſt other countries, were formed, here, to animate and ſupport the virtue of the men. Trained to the moſt athletic exerciſes, their temperament became ſtrong and robuſt, ſuperior to the native delicacy of the ſex; their ſouls were formed for the reception of patience, courage, fortitude, and the train of heroic virtues. The love of poverty neceſſarily inſpired the Lacedemonians with an indifference for plundering an enemy, or rendering him tributary. Their ſole ſubſiſtance aroſe from the produce of their lands; and, having no publick

[g] This law was entitled Xenelaſiæ. The Lacedemonians were not to go out of their own territories, unleſs to execute ſome commiſſion of the republick. When they were under the neceſſity of admitting a foreigner, they appointed a Proxenos, a kind of inſpector, to attend him; who watched his ſteps. It was not till after the Pelopenneſian war, that they relaxed in this article.

publick funds to have recourſe to, it was impoſſible for them to maintain a foreign war. They had likewiſe a law which reſtrained them from giving the freedom of their city to foreigners; [b] which, of courſe, diſabled them from ſupplying that loſs of citizens, which even victories are attended with; whilſt their inability to avail themſelves of any of the advantages of war, made them ſingularly attentive to the preſervation of peace. But, notwithſtanding the propriety and efficacy of theſe motives for retaining the citizens in moderation, Lycurgus feared leſt ambition of conqueſt (which always degenerates into avarice, and by enriching a ſtate cauſes a ſubordination of rank,) ſhould undermine the principles of his republick. He therefore enacted a law, expreſſly forbidding the Lacedemonians to take arms, unleſs in their own defence; and enjoining them never to be tempted, by the advantage of victory, to the purſuit of a flying enemy.

Such a precaution, in appearance extravagant, was yet neceſſary; for, to ſupply the deficiency of number in the Lacedemonian army, Lycurgus had given Sparta more the reſemblance of a camp than a city. Perpetually occupied in martial exerciſes, all other employments were held deſpicable. Every citizen was a ſoldier, in whom not to have been eager to lay down his life for his country, had been infamous. Poſſibly without the wiſe reſtrictions already mentioned, the Spartans, tranſported by valour, might have made an improper uſe, for their own aggrandizement, of that excellence in the military art, recommended for ſelf defence. The love of fame was an illuſion, under which paſſions of a different nature might artfully lurk; and, abſorbed in ſiniſter and lucrative views, that

[b] Herodotus remarks, that the Spartans never enrolled but two foreigners in their liſt of citizens; Tiſamenes, and his brother Egias, during the Perſian war. Commentators ſay this is a miſtake, and that they granted this honour to four or five other perſons.

have proved deſtructive to the very eſſence of their government, and by embroiling the ſeveral republicks with each other, the newly awakened rage of conqueſt, had been attended with a diverſity of intereſts, and jealous ſuſpicions, terminating in hatred, which would have rendered their country an eaſy prey to ſome foreign prince. But, taking it for granted that ſuch a conduct might not have been productive of the conſequences I have deduced, can it be ſuppoſed that a man ſufficiently enlightened to diſcern that the incapability of Greece to extend her empire, from the nature of her political conſtitution, muſt one day be the cauſe of her deſtruction, ſhould at the ſame time be ſo blind as to make a fruitleſs effort to engage her in conqueſts, which, though they might conduce to the encreaſe of power in the community at large, could not have enriched every particular ſtate? A diſtant proſpect of advantage never ſtrikes the multitude; and ſchemes of general utility make but faint impreſſions on men's minds. Could the impetuoſity of his eloquence even have convinced the publick aſſembly of Amphictyons, of the neceſſity of this extenſion of territory, the obſtacles inſeparable from the undertaking had very ſoon diſguſted them with it; and they would have quickly reverted to their original principles. A confederated republick may maintain a *defenſive war* with advantage; becauſe when liberty is attacked the grand point, "how to defend it?" is ſuperior to all other conſiderations, and reconciles every jarring intereſt. Such a war may be conducted with that deliberate wiſdom which is the reſult of combined opinions; beſides that an apprehenſion of impending danger precipitates men into action, and forces them to overlook a thouſand ceremonious forms that are generally regarded as indiſpenſably neceſſary. An *offenſive war*, on the contrary, is ſo far from conciliating the ſenti-

ments

ments of a people, that it almoſt ever divides them; great activity and celerity are requiſite in its proſecution; whilſt the ſecret ſprings that give motion to a confederated body, act with that dilatory circumſpection ſo pernicious to enterprize.

Let us examine the conſtitution of Greece in this point of view, and we ſhall eſtimate as an advantage theſe remains of jealous diſcord, which, in ſpite of the Spartan authority, and the council of Amphictyons, ſometimes interrupted her repoſe. Without ſuch a fermentation, her citizens, enervated by a long ceſſation of military toils, had not been in a capacity to defend their country againſt foreign invaſions. It was to domeſtick jealouſies, ſuſpicions, and controverſies, that Greece was indebted for commanders and ſoldiers, whoſe courage, ability, and martial diſcipline repaired the diſadvantages ariſing from the weakneſs of her conſtitution.

Contracted within her own narrow circle, Greece remained inactive, whilſt vaſt empires were already eſtabliſhed in Aſia. She was, perhaps, even ignorant of the ſucceſsful progreſs of the Medes and Aſſyrians, when the rapid victories of Cyrus preſented at her very door the powerful neighbour deſtined hereafter to be her conqueror.

The hiſtory of Cyrus, as tranſmitted to poſterity, is either too much diſfigured with the puerilities related by Herodotus, or too much embelliſhed by the pen of a philoſopher, who attended leſs to the authenticity of facts, than the conveyance of inſtructive examples, to future monarchs, how to deſerve a throne. According to Herodotus, Cambyſes was a Perſian of mean extraction, choſen by Aſtyages to be the huſband of Mandana, from a ſuperſtitious regard to a dream, that foretold he ſhould be dethroned by his grandſon. The obſcurity of Cambyſes, and the interval of time before Cyrus could be capable

capable of diſputing the crown, were, however, inſufficient reaſons for diſpelling the fears of his timid grandfather: he therefore commanded that Cyrus ſhould be *expoſed*, but he was moſt miraculouſly preſerved; and the conqueror of Aſia was educated like a ſimple ſhepherd. Yet, in that occupation, his greatneſs of ſoul burſt through the cloud that enveloped it. Deſtined for a throne from the extraordinary elevation of his genius, his playfellows in all their little ſports reſigned to him the command. By gradual ſteps he became monarch of a nation whom the Medes had enſlaved; his remonſtrances made the Perſians bluſh at their chains, and ſtill more at the patience with which they ſuffered them to be impoſed. He taught them the uſe of arms, and inured them to military hardſhips; raiſed the ſtandard of reſiſtance, declared war againſt Media, and after defeating Aſtyages deſpoiled him of his kingdom.

Xenophon repreſents the ſtory in a very different manner. The Perſians, he agrees, were not a numerous race, but then they were laborious, active, vigilant, and excellent ſoldiers. Surrounded with nations enervated by luxury, Perſia alone continued invulnerable to the arrows of vice. Cambyſes, equally ſubmiſſive to the laws of his country with the meaneſt ſubject, reigned over this reſpectable nation. Cyrus received from his father an education equal to the rank he filled, and in his early years he began to unfold the bloſſoms of thoſe virtues which conſtitute a hero. Aſtyages died peacefully on the throne, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Cyaxares; whilſt Cyrus, far from acting as a chief of banditti, or an uſurper, carried on a war to eſtabliſh the crown upon his uncle's head, and cruſh the enemies of Media, where, by right of ſucceſſion, he afterwards became legal ſovereign.

On which ever ſide truth may be, thus far is certain, that Cyrus,

Cyrus, in deservedly attracting the admiration of all Asia, had the fate of most extraordinary personages, whose lives are crowded with a train of marvellous fictions, in proportion as the real grandeur of their actions stands less in need of false embellishments. This prince led an obscure people into the full blaze of glory. The conquest of Lydia threw into his hands the wealth of Croesus and of all Asia-Minor. He carried the war into Syria, reduced that kingdom to a province, as well as Arabia; overturned the empire of the Assyrians, besieged and took Babylon; and extended his conquests over those immense tracts of country which are bounded by the Indian ocean, the Caspian, Euxine, and Ægean seas, Æthiopia, and the Arabian gulph.

The Greeks situated on the coasts of Asia-Minor, contemplated with pleasure the defeat of Croesus, whose tributaries they were; and suffering revenge to cast a mist before their eyes, were insensible that a far more formidable power had arisen from his ruins. Their presumption even tempted them to believe, that the ardent expressions of zeal they testified for entering into an alliance with Cyrus, would induce him to re-establish them in their ancient independence. But this hero, not finding his vanity flattered by the homage of cities already on the verge of slavery, would not treat with them as allies, but as subjects.

From henceforth the interests of Greece would have been connected with those of Persia, if Cyrus, who was a stranger even to the name of Sparta, had not resented [i] the haughtiness of her interposition in behalf of these colonies. He

[i] The Grecian colonies having implored the assistance of Lacedæmon, that republick treated Cyrus as she would have done one of the states of Greece. She sent ambassadors to inform him, that the descendants of the Greeks, whatever part of the world they inhabited, had a natural right to freedom, and menaced him with a declaration of war, if he committed any hostilities against them.

treated their temerity with contempt, and would not beſtow on the Aſiatic Greeks the honour of ſubduing them in perſon; but, leaving the care of their reduction to his lieutenants, was occupied in different quarters with more important enterprizes. It was time Greece ſhould begin to be ſenſible of her own weakneſs, and that her liberty was endangered, though not deſtroyed: the conqueror of Aſia was obeyed by the Lydians, and Perſia was become too formidable to the neighbouring powers, to give reaſon to expect ſhe ſhould reſtrain her views within the bounds of moderation. Conquerors, in all ages, thirſt after univerſal dominion; becauſe ambition is, in its nature, incapable of enjoyment, and therefore can never be ſatisfied; winged by proſperity it flies in purſuit of new conqueſts. Cambyſes, who ſucceeded Cyrus, though deficient in talents proper to ſupport the ſplendor of a crown, was not permitted to indulge his natural indolence of temper. Compelled by the prevalent influence of the people to attempt, however reluctantly, great actions, he found himſelf obliged to appear in arms; and the ruin of a powerful monarchy was an enterprize alone worthy the ſucceſſor of Cyrus. If Cambyſes ſpared Greece, it was becauſe he thought it too inconſiderable to excite his ambition; whilſt Egypt opened a more brilliant career of glory. After completing the conqueſt of that kingdom, the Perſian monarchs could only extend their empire in Africa, or Europe; this laſt quarter of the globe was moſt adapted to their taſte; Greece was the key to it; and a combination of circumſtances threatened the Greeks with an invaſion from the Perſians.

At this critical period, the colonies eſtabliſhed on the borders of Aſia-Minor, groaning under the yoke of ſlavery, flattered themſelves with the hope of recovering their freedom; and

and their extreme confidence in this hope, unfortunately ſpurred them on to hazard every thing for its attainment. Ariſtagoras, a man whoſe vain temerity equalled his ambition, beheld with delight this ſpirit of independency kindling and diffuſing itſelf among the colonies; but before he gave motion to its fire, he was deſirous of intereſting Greece in the ſucceſs of his ſcheme. Though the Spartans had at length comprehended, how much it imported them manage with policy ſo formidable a neighbour as the king of Perſia, and therefore were deaf to his ſolicitations, Ariſtagoras found the Athenians more pliant and acceſſible.

Athens held the ſecond rank in the eſtimation of Greece, diſtinguiſhed by courage, wealth, and induſtry, but ſtill more peculiarly by an elegance of manners, and a ſingular gracefulneſs of behaviour, which the Greeks could not forbear regarding with admiration, though they were wiſe enough to give the preference to more eſſential qualities. Naturally vain, impetuous, volatile, and inconſtant, ſhe believed herſelf, I know not on what foundation, deſtined for univerſal empire. Every citizen engaged by oath to regard, as the property of the republick, whatever country produced corn, vines, and olive trees. Athens no ſooner taſted the ſweets of domeſtick tranquillity, than ſhe was eager to interrupt it by engaging in foreign diſſenſions. Impatient for action, ſhe could not endure the laſſitude of repoſe; and her reſtleſs ambition muſt much earlier have overturned the political ſyſtem of Greece, if the form of her own government had admitted of purſuing an enterprize with conſtancy. But this republick is compared, by Polybius, to a ſhip without a pilot, where every man ſteers the helm as he pleaſes: "One "party, ſays he, is for continuing the voyage; another is "for landing at the neareſt ſhore; theſe lower the top ſails;

"thoſe put on all the ſail they can: and amidſt this ſcene of "confuſion, the ſhip, driven at the mercy of the winds, "without any regular deſtination, is every moment in dan-"ger of ſplitting upon a rock."

The Athenians had freed themſelves from the yoke of Piſiſtratus; and Hippias, the laſt of their tyrants, had found an aſylum, and even a diſtinguiſhed protection, from Artapharnes, governor of Lydia, at the very time Ariſtagoras was ſoliciting their aſſiſtance in favour of the Aſiatic Greeks; of whom the greater part derived their origin from Attica. The intoxication of recovered liberty, warm with reſentment againſt Perſia, precipitated the Athenians into a ſtep which led to their own deſtruction. They complied with the requeſt of the colonies, who revolted from the Perſian government, laid ſiege to the city of Sardis, and reduced it to aſhes. Darius, who after putting the impoſter Smerdis to death, had taken poſſeſſion of the throne of Perſia, would not ſuffer this raſhneſs to paſs with impunity; after reducing to obedience the iſlands on the borders of Aſia, he reſolved to extend his reſentment to Greece itſelf; where he diſpatched heralds to demand in his name, *Earth and Water*. Far from repenting of their procedure, the Athenians refuſed to do him homage, and prepared for war; marching with the utmoſt confidence to meet the Perſians, whom they defeated at Marathon. Such was, I will not ſay the foundation of the Perſian war carried on ſome years afterwards by Xerxes, but the firſt inſtance of a rupture between the two nations; unavoidable, if we conſider the ambition and ſituation of Perſia, oppoſed to the arrogance of Greece; and which, if the Athenians had equalled the Spartans in prudence, would not have been ſo raſhly commenced. Xerxes employed four years in preparing for his expedition, in which the whole force of Aſia

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was collected. His land army, according to Herodotus, conſiſted of ſeventeen hundred thouſand ſoldiers; and his naval troops amounted to five hundred thouſand men. Twelve ſhips of war were appointed for the convoy of three thouſand tranſport veſſels. Probably this enumeration is exaggerated; but other writers agree, that the army of Xerxes was ſufficiently conſiderable to have aſpired to the conqueſt of Europe.

If I am not ſingular in my opinion, it appears leſs aſtoniſhing that the Greeks, after an advantage over Darius, in a battle where victory or ruin was the alternative, ſhould then form a reſolution of future reſiſtance, when they muſt perceive the diſtant ſtorm that threatened, and had it in their power to divert its fury by ſoothing him with reſpectful ſubmiſſion. But the native loftineſs of their ſouls; their enthuſiaſtic love of liberty; their inveterate averſion to monarchy, induced them to prefer death to the Perſian government.

We are unable, in the preſent age, to form any idea what it is to conquer a nation of free men. Since the general eſtabliſhment of monarchical government in Europe, the people are no longer citizens, but ſubjects; they are more occupied with the acquiſition of wealth for themſelves than for the ſtate; war is kindled in provinces, accuſtomed to obedience, and it would be an abſurdity to expect to meet with men, who, to avoid exchanging one monarch for another, would fall a ſacrifice beneath the ruins of their country.

Several writers, I know, have fancied they have given a ſatisfactory explication of the extraordinary concluſion of the Median war. Sparta, ſay they, was then devoutly attached to the ſeverely rigid inſtitutions of Lycurgus; and all her citizens were equally brave with thoſe three hundred heroes, who fell voluntary victims at the ſtraits of Thermopylæ. Athens, I agree with them, had never been in ſo flouriſhing a

ſituation;

ſituation; though cheriſhing within her boſom the ſeeds of thoſe diviſions which were formerly the bane of her tranquillity. She had few other laws than thoſe of Solon, a legiſlator ſo [k] unenlightened that he himſelf lived be to a witneſs of the tyranny which overturned his republick. In a word, though the popular power was extended far beyond the bounds of regularity and decency, it is certain the multitude, at that period, acted with wiſdom; which may be accounted for, by an extraordinary change in the manners of the people during the uſurpation of Piſiſtratus, ſufficiently forcible to ſupply the defect of their laws. The reſtoration of liberty had been the ſole object that engroſſed their attention; they diſregarded every other conſideration, and, inflamed with redoubled love for their country, when they emerged from ſlavery to freedom, the magiſtrates conducted the affairs of the republick with a zeal that excited univerſal emulation; and which, in baniſhing intrigue and cabal, rewarded only talents and magnanimity.

Hiſtorians have undoubtedly reaſon to affirm, that nothing was impoſſible for Athens to accompliſh, after the glory ſhe had acquired at Marathon; but are they to be credited when they repreſent the reſt of the Greeks as ſo many citizens rendered

[k] Solon, ſays Plutarch, only palliated the diſorders in his republick. Some of his laws are wiſe, but there is no correſpondent relation between the principles on which they are founded, and the end they are to attain; nay, frequently there is a manifeſt contradiction. For inſtance; Solon diſobliged the rich, by his law for the abolition of debts; and the poor, by rejecting their petition for a new diviſion of lands. In order to gratify the nobles, he confined the offices of magiſtracy to ſuch whoſe eſtates produced two hundred meaſures of corn, oil, or wine. This enraged the populace. The nobles, on their ſide, could not brook the privilege the people enjoyed of appeal from the ſentence of the magiſtrates. The taſk would be endleſs to enter into a particular examination of every law of Solon. His democratical ſyſtem was monſtrous, in one inſtance; that the people, as ſupreme legiſlators, directed the execution of the laws abroad and at home. After the fall of Piſiſtratus, Ariſtides got a law paſſed by which every citizen might arrive at the magiſtracy.

dered desperate by their zeal for liberty? warriors enured to the regular severity of military discipline? whilst the soldiers of Xerxes are painted less like men, than women, effeminated by luxury and sloth? Whereas the fact was, that several republicks, taking it for granted that opposition was in vain, abjectly courted his favour. In regard to the troops of Persia, it is certain that Cambyses, by his expedition against Ethiopia, [*l*] and Ammonia, and Darius in his Scythian war, had lost the choicest of them. One must nevertheless agree, that a nation always engaged in war could not be long deficient in soldiers. The warlike regulations of Cyrus still subsisted, and Darius, the successor of Cambyses, was a prince of distinguished merit. Herodotus informs us, that the Persians esteemed virtue; and that valour served as a *degree*, towards the attainment of honours. In their wars, many individuals gave examples of uncommon bravery, and the whole regiments were excited to emulation. Impartially speaking, though the empire of Cyrus was evidently immersed in lethargic corruption, when it fell under the dominion of Alexander, there is little probability of its being infected, so early as the reign of Xerxes, with any of those vices with which Xenophon reproaches it in succeeding times. [*m*]

Nor do the first successes of the revolters prove any thing derogatory to the Persian courage. The reason the country was unfortified on their side, was because Persia had, naturally, no cause to apprehend an attack from its own subjects. But

[*l*] In order to pass from Egypt to Ethiopia, it was necessary to traverse vast deserts; and Cambyses had taken no measures for the subsistence of his army, during its march; the soldiers, says Herodotus, having fed upon their beasts of burthen, and horses, were driven to the extremity of devouring each other. A second army, sent to subdue the Ammonians, was overtaken in the plains of Africa by a whirlwind, that buried it under mountains of sand. Darius, says the the same writer, lost a great many men, likewise, in his Scythian expedition.

[*m*] See the Cyropadia, last chapter of the last book.

But after Darius marched his forces to puniſh the Aſiatic Greeks, did he not waſh away with their blood the affront he had received? Grant that the battle of Marathon decided the ſuperiority of the Grecian ſoldiery, and the incapability of the Perſians to conquer, unaſſiſted, why muſt this conviction render the expedition of Xerxes unſucceſsful? He had all the Greeks of Aſia, and the iſlands to reinforce his army, excepting the Seriphians, Sephnians, and Melians. Several European nations joined him; and although the general aſſembly of Greece had ſentenced thoſe who enliſted under the ſtandards of the barbarians to decimation, yet did not the inhabitants of Dolopia, Perrhœbia, Theſſalia, Magneſia, Achaia, Locria, Thebes, and the greater part of Beotia, enter into alliance with the court of Perſia?

By a reſolution to ſacrifice men to ſucceſs, Xerxes gained the paſs of Thermopylæ: the ſame ſyſtem, in ſimilar circumſtances, would always have been productive of the ſame advantages. The more accurate our obſervations are upon the inequallity of ſtrength between the two nations, the inconveniencies Greece was expoſed to from the nature of her conſtitution, and the few reſourſes ſhe had to confide in, the more we muſt be convinced of the improbability ſhe ſhould eſcape the impending ruin! What ſaved her, then, was the ſuperior genius of Themiſtocles and Pauſanias, to that of Xerxes and Mardonius. A comparative view of the characters of theſe great men can alone explain the unexpected concluſion of the Median war.

Themiſtocles was born with an inſatiable thirſt for glory; and ſo impatient was he to ſignalize himſelf, that his emulation to rival the fame of Miltiades, after the battle of Marathon, is ſaid to have broken his reſt. In Themiſtocles were collected all the qualifications that conſtitute the hero, and

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the great man: and according to the eulogium of Thucydides, none ever deſerved, in a higher degree, the admiration of poſterity. With courage proof againſt ſurprize, he had prudence in removing obſtacles, adequate to penetration in foreſeeing them; and the united influence of theſe qualities rendered him ſuperior to all events.

Whilſt Greece revelled in joy for the humiliation of Darius, Themiſtocles regarded the battle of Marathon, only as the prelude to an approaching ſtorm. A democratical republick is always too much occupied with the preſent moment, to attend to futurity. Themiſtocles was particularly careful of interrupting the temporary intoxication of his countrymen, with apprehenſions of future vengeance, on the ſide of Perſia; elated with victory as the Athenians then were, they would have ridiculed his precaution, or perhaps have pronounced it criminal: he therefore determined to take advantage of the popular prepoſſeſſion in his favour, as well as of the arrogance proſperity is apt to inſpire, in order to exaſperate them againſt Ægina, then the moſt powerful maratime ſtate in Greece. He inſenſibly led the Athenians into a war, and under pretence of proſecuting it vigorouſly, he formed a powerful marine, capable not only of defending his own republick, but the reſt of Greece from invaſions.

Suppoſing the court of Perſia abſolutely reſolved on avenging its diſgrace at Marathon, Greece had no way to avoid deſtruction but from the aſſiſtance of a powerful fleet; to convince ourſelves of this, it will be ſufficient to recollect the ſituation of a country, divided into diſtricts, bordering on the ſea ſhore. So long as the coaſts of Greece remained defenceleſs, Xerxes was at liberty to make deſcents wherever he pleaſed; in theſe circumſtances, equally at a loſs where to aſſemble their forces, or make the ſtrongeſt reſiſtance,

every republick would naturally have confined its attention to repelling the enemy in its own territories. The Greeks, inſtead of being warmed with that glorious emulation which produced ſuch prodigies of valour, from the united efforts of a numerous and regularly diſciplined army, muſt have been drawn out in ſeperate detachments through neceſſity, when, conſcious of inferior ſtrength, deſpairing of aſſiſtance, and abandoned to timidity, Xerxes would have gained an eaſy conqueſt. This Themiſtocles foreſaw and prevented. A man of leſs enlarged conceptions would have been contented with providing for the ſecurity of Attica; with eſtabliſhing her fortifications, arſenals, and military ſtores, on ſolid foundations. But, more extenſive in his plan, Themiſtocles regarded Greece itſelf as the true bulwark of the Athenians. The *whole* muſt be defenſible, or Athens is no more! In ſeeming to ſacrifice his republick to the general intereſt, he inſtructed the Greeks how to preſerve it by naval armaments.

I do not know whether mankind has enough attended to the magnanimity of the Athenians in this inſtance; when reſigning their city to the fury of the *barbarians*, they removed their wives, their children, with the aged and decrepit citizens, to Salamin and Trœzene; voluntarily quitting their paternal ſeats to take refuge in ſhips, conſtructed with the rude materials of their houſes. A reſolution ſo unexampled of which few perſons were capable of comprehending the wiſdom, preſented to the multitude, nothing but a terrible and mortifying proſpect of flight, or inevitable ruin. To be able to form a competent judgment of the obſtacles Themiſtocles had to ſurmount, ere he could prevail with his fellow-citizens to abandon their habitations, their temples, their Gods, and the tombs of their anceſtors, it is neceſſary to carry our thoughts back to the remote ages of antiquity, and to

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be converſant in all their national prejudices. That univerſality of genius, which Themiſtocles was endowed with, could alone have ſaved Greece, at this period, from deſtruction. His diſcriminating mind, fraught with the moſt elevated ideas, knew how to arrange all the various combinations of refined policy. He had recourſe to addreſs, inſinuation and intrigue, to gain the concurrence of men incapable of conviction. To raiſe the multitude to his own ſcale of reaſon was impracticable; authority muſt, therefore, be employed, religion muſt be intereſted, the Gods muſt interpoſe, and Greece become prolific of oracles favourable to his deſigns.

After forcing the paſs of Thermopylæ, the Perſians diſperſed their troops over the country: ſubduing all before them as far as the Peloponneſus; Xerxes purpoſed forcing an entrance through the iſthmus of Corinth. The Greeks collected all their ſtrength on that ſide. Animated by deſpair, they formed a plan of defence worthy of their military genius. But how vain had been reſiſtance, if the enemy's fleet had made powerful diverſions along the coaſts of Peloponneſus and by that means encouraged thoſe nations to appear in arms who held private intelligence with Perſia? [n] Corinth, I grant, ſtill reſiſted the attacks of the Perſians, but that city, acting only on the defenſive, crouded with citizens, ſurrounded with innumerable invaders by ſea and land, muſt very ſhortly have experinced all the horours of famine.

To oppoſe the Perſian navy, Greece had no more than three hundred and fourſcore veſſels; the commander, appointed by the Lacedemonians, was a man incapable of ſupporting the rank aſſigned him. Whether Eurybiades, conſcious of his inferiority in number, and liſtening to the ſuggeſtions of fear, thought himſelf always too near the enemy; or

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[n] Theſe, Herodotus tells us, were the Dorians, Etolians, Dryopians, and Lemnians.

whether he abſurdly apprehended the ſafety of Peloponneſus would be leſs endangered, by hovering with his fleet upon the coaſt, he came to a reſolution to abandon the ſtraits of Salamin. Themiſtocles oppoſed this deſign with extreme earneſtneſs, endeavouring to convince him, it was only within this arm of the ſea that the Greeks were able to bid defiance to the ſuperiority of Xerxes; clearly demonſtrating that his advantageous ſituation gave him an opportunity of diſturbing the operations of the enemy, without the leaſt hazard to himſelf. Theſe remonſtrances proving ineffectual, Themiſtocles, as is generally known, found it impoſſible to fruſtrate the project of the timid and fooliſh Eurybiades, any other way than by aſſuming the character of a traitor to his country, in giving ſecret information to Xerxes, that the Greeks meditated an eſcape, and his attack muſt be ſudden, if he was deſirous to cut off their retreat on the Peloponneſian ſide.

Xerxes fell into the ſnare; and Eurybiades was compelled to fight. The Grecian ſhips, which, from the narrowneſs of the ſtrait, could not be ſurrounded by the enemy, were at liberty to act in concert; whilſt the Perſians loſt the advantage of their naval ſtrength, as only a ſmall number of ſhips could engage at a time; and the firſt line of battle being defeated, communicated diſorder and confuſion to the reſt of the fleet, which was quickly diſperſed by the Greeks.

What gave a deciſive turn to the fortune of the day was the daſtardlineſs of Xerxes. His loſs, it is true, was conſiderable, but, in collecting the ſcattered remains of his fleet, were there not ſtill ſhips enough to render him maſter of the ſea? why was he ſo ſoon intimidated? his land army ſtill unrepulſed, and almoſt the whole country of Greece reduced! and, had not this prince been the moſt inattentive and infatuated man breathing, could he have been a ſecond time

time the dupe of Themiſtocles? Common reaſon had informed him, that the Greeks would never act ſo impolitically, as to break down the bridge he had thrown over the Boſphorus; which by cutting off all poſſibility of retreat, muſt reduce a powerful enemy to the alternative, either to conquer or die! However innumerable the armies of ſuch a general as Xerxes may be, they are but impotent ſhadows, when oppoſed by a Themiſtocles! The moſt formidable troops under an unſkilful leader, are like the maſſy club of Hercules in the hand of an infant, unable to wield it. Xerxes had recourſe to flight; and, in leaving Mardonius in Greece, at the head of three hundred thouſand ſoldiers, excluſive of the allies, he thought leſs of ſubduing the country, than of ſecuring his own retreat, and preventing the Greeks from purſuing him into Aſia.

The army of Mardonius was yet ſtrong enough to have intimidated the Greeks, had they been leſs elated with their recent eſcape from one far more tremendous; the Perſians became deſpicable, in their eyes, after the retreat of Xerxes; they thought themſelves aſſured of victory, whenever they engaged; and their diſmayed enemies, on the contrary, began to deſpair of ſucceſs. But this confidence on the one ſide, and the deſpondency on the other, being alike founded in imaginary ſtrength and weakneſs, it required uncommon prudence in the Greeks to prevent their engaging in raſh and extravagant ſkirmiſhes; the want of ſucceſs in any of which, might, by degrees, have revived the drooping courage of the Perſians, and taught Mardonius to recollect that ſuperiority in number, he ſeemed totally to have forgot. The preſervation of Greece *entirely* depended upon military judgment; and in this particular Pauſanias, who commanded in chief, infinitely excelled Mardonius.

I am not ignorant that Pauſanias, dazzled, afterwards, by

by the preſents and promiſes of Xerxes, not only betrayed the intereſts of his country, but even aſpired to become the tyrant of it; I will even add, that, diſcouraged by the difficulty of the enterprize, and unfurniſhed with mental reſources, the firſt ſtep he engaged in was followed by repentance: deſtitute of ſteadineſs to determine him, either to relinquiſh or purſue his deſigns, this weak, irreſolute, cowardly diſpoſition puts the finiſhing ſtroke to the ignominy of his character as a politician. He ſought to confirm his wavering purpoſe by the help of accomplices; and, as if he wiſhed to diveſt himſelf of the fatigues of acting a firſt part, he tempted the fidelity of Themiſtocles; without diſcerning, that ſhould this great man be infamous enough to become his aſſociate, he would infallibly raviſh from him all the fruits of his treaſon.

Yet, however deſpicable Pauſanias appears as a ſtateſman, he was one of thoſe complicated, and not uncommon characters, who are great or little, regarded in different points of view, and merit a pretty equal ſhare of our admiration and contempt. If nature had been niggardly to him of the ſagacious talents of a great politician, ſhe was laviſh in the military ones of a complete general. Whilſt Mardonius was puzzled which way to act, negotiating when he ſhould have fought, and totally ignorant of the art of employing his forces to advantage, Pauſanias was active, vigilant, and intrepid, at the head of his army. He penetrates the deſigns of Mardonius, ſurrounds him with ambuſhes, preſſes him on all ſides, and reduces him at laſt to the neceſſity of engaging the Greeks at Platææ, a confined ſpot of ground, where numbers were of little advantage, and from whence forty-thouſand Perſians only eſcaped, of that mighty army, under the conduct of Artabazus, leaving the reſt of their countrymen on the field of battle.

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Upon the very day that Pauſanias was victorious at Platææ, Leotychides, king of Sparta, and Xantippus, an Athenian general, gained a complete advantage over the Perſians, at Mycale. The Spartan chief, unacquainted with what paſſed in Greece, artfully propagated a report along the coaſts of Aſia, that Mardonius was defeated; and that, as the Greeks were preparing to free their couutry from barbarian bondage, they expected the colonies would ſecond ſo generous an attempt. Diodorus remarks, it was neither the valour of the Greeks, nor their ſkill in war, which gained them the victory at Mycale; the event was doubtful, till the Samians, and Mileſians decided it, by going over to the Greeks. The Perſians were alarmed by this defection, which was immediately followed by that of the Aſiatic Greeks, who joined their European countrymen, to defeat the common enemy.

Xerxes, who had proceeded no farther than Sardis, no ſooner was informed that his army was entirely routed, than, alarmed for his own ſafety, he retreated to Eebatana; communicating the contagion of his fear to all his ſubjects. After aſpiring to univerſal monarchy, this prince now deſpaired of retaining poſſeſſion of his hereditary dominions. In proportion to the immenſity of their preparations, for the reduction of Greece, the Perſians felt the impotence of their arms after this defeat. Salamin, Platææ, Mycale, recalled the remembrance of former diſgraces in the Ethiopian, Ammonian, and Scythian expeditions. Thoſe ſentiments of grandeur and courage, which Cyrus bequeathed as an inheritance to his ſucceſſors, were totally effaced, and Xerxes had nothing to leave to poſterity but an example of the moſt abject cowardice.

There never happened in any nation, but particularly in a confederated republick, an event of equal importance with this

this I am now relating, without occaſioning ſome revolution in its political ſyſtem. The more the Greeks were ſenſible of the advantage of concord during the war with Xerxes, the more cloſely ſhould they have drawn the bonds of alliance and amity after his overthrow. But, unhappily, ſucceſs gave birth to new paſſions in the breaſts of the Spartans and Athenians; and new intereſts aroſe amongſt the other ſtates of Greece; till by degrees the hatred of the two rival republicks grew more inveterate; their diſſenſions laid the foundation of their ruin; and in ſome meaſure revenged the aſhes of the Perſian empire.

END OF BOOK I.

A SUMMARY OF BOOK II.

Of Revolutions in the general ſyſtem of Greece, conſequent to the Median war.—Athens becomes the ruling power.—Reflections on its intereſts.—Examen of the adminiſtration of Cimon and Pericles.—Of the Peloponneſian war.—The ſupreme power of Athens overturned by the Spartans.—The authority of Lacedæmon, incapable to ſupport itſelf.—Of the Theban glory under the auſpices of Epaminondas.

GREECE entirely confined her attention within the circle of domeſtick affairs, precedent to the rupture with Xerxes; had little or no intercourſe with her colonies, nor was her tranquillity interrupted with apprehenſions of foreign invaſions. The differences ariſing between adjacent republicks, required only regular land forces to determine them; and having no commercial intereſt to ſupport, ſhe was conſequently inattentive to maritime preparations. But ſcarcely did the Greeks begin to breathe, after the cloſe of the Perſian war, than an apprehenſion naturally aroſe, that the court of Perſia would not be tardy to revenge its diſgrace. From that inſtant they regarded a cloſe connection with their colonies, in the iſlands of Aſia-Minor, as a moſt intereſting object: to defend theſe was, in other words, to form a barrier for their own defence. Their naval ſtrength, importantly ſignalized in the engagement at Salamin, was now become of infinitely greater conſequence than a land

army. A formidable marine would not only raiſe a conſtant bulwark againſt the barbarians, and extend the reputation of Greece to diſtant ſhores, but it was, alſo, conſidered as a neceſſary chain of connection with the colonies, the links of which might hold them united, though ſeparated from the mother country by the ocean.

It is undoubtedly obvious to every rational mind, that this novelty in politicks pointed ſtrongly at the fundamental principles of the conſtitution; ſince Sparta felt an immediate degradation, for this reaſon alone, her known deficiency in ſhips, ſeamen, and the funds neceſſary to maintain a ſuperiority at ſea. Whilſt, on the contrary, Athens, from the preponderancy of her maritime ſtrength, attracted univerſal attention, and ſeemed already to have ſnatched the laurels from the brow they had ſo long encircled.

Lacedæmon might have avoided this indignity to her fame, had ſhe been attentive to her true intereſt; but, enraged at the inſolence of Attic pride, ſhe conſulted only her paſſions. The Spartans had formerly given demonſtrations of their jealouſy of the dawning ſplendour of Athens, by their attempt to reinſtate Hippias in the tyranny, after the baniſhment of Piſiſtratus. Hence, it may be eaſily ſuppoſed, they could not pardon her the victory at Salamin, which raviſhed from them the glory of being the deliverers of Greece. With a ſecret ſatisfaction they contemplated the ruin that threatened their rival; and, when her citizens led their wives and children through the territories of Laconia, in their return from Salamin and Trœzene, they would have prevented them from rebuilding the walls of Athens. "The Lacedemonians, ſays "Diodorus, aſſerted it was for the intereſts of Greece that "Athens ſhould remain unfortified. If Xerxes, continued "they, attacks us a ſecond time, the Athenians muſt again

"be

" be reduced to leave their walls, whilſt the Perſians, in-
" ſtructed by experience, would not fail to convert the city
" into an impregnable fortreſs, from whence it would be
" impoſſible ever to diſlodge them; and whoſe advantageous
" ſituation would command all the country." As a recompence of that generoſity, with which the Athenians devoted themſelves to the preſervation of Greece, their city had been left open and defenceleſs, a place of no conſideration, if Themiſtocles, as is univerſally known, had not ſucceeded in reſtoring the grandeur of his country, by deceiving the Lacedemonians.

Far from diſcovering viſible marks of reſtleſs jealouſy, Sparta's only method, now, was to have inſpired an implicit confidence in the hearts of the allies, and to have ſtrengthened the foundation of an union with the colonies, from whence the principal advantage was to reſult to herſelf. The firſt attention of a power who holds the chief rank in a confederacy like that of the ſtates of Greece, ought either to be a real inſinuation of its own ſentiments into the breaſts of others, or an apparent adoption of theirs.

The Lacedemonians, attentive to all the movements of their allies, ſhould have eagerly embraced that ſyſtem which new intereſts inclined them to purſue. By taking the lead in courting an alliance with the colonies, who, in general, were powerful at ſea, the proud republick of Athens, without ſuſpecting the artifice, would have remained contented with her ſecond degree of rank. But, taking advantage of that dilatorineſs, or rather torpitude, with which hiſtory reproaches her rival, ſhe offered her protection and alliance to the Greeks, eſtabliſhed in the iſlands and coaſts of Aſia-Minor; and, with their aſſiſtance, divided the ſupreme authority, aſſuming the naval command of the combined fleets, as

the Spartans did the military of the land armies.

Whilſt a concurrence of circumſtances favoured the Athenian ambition, Lacedæmon, by a freſh inſtance of imprudence, accelerated her own declenſion. Pauſanias had been entruſted with the command of the army in Aſia, and that general, whoſe integrity was corrupted by the gold of Perſia, behaved with equal ſeverity to his own troops, as tenderneſs to thoſe of the enemy; a general mutiny enſued, and complaints were lodged againſt him. The Lacedemonians, judging it neceſſary, that the greater the ſtruggle for relaxation from military diſcipline was, the more ſtrictly it ought to be obſerved, rejected their petition for redreſs. This manner of treating the ſoldiers appeared to great diſadvantage, when compared with the Athenian adminiſtration, where Ariſtides and Cimon had the principal weight; who, by the rectitude and generoſity of their conduct, rendered the government reſpectable. The Grecian troops, excepting thoſe of Peloponneſus, implored the aſſiſtance of Athens againſt the oppreſſion of Pauſanias, and entered into a voluntary aſſociation, to ſerve only under the banner of that republick.

I have confined myſelf to ſpeak of the depreſſion of Sparta, but it is evident, that the very attempt to ſubvert the eſtabliſhed form of government in Greece, was a ſymptom of its approaching diſſolution. Sudden and unexpected revolutions in ſtates are always attended with intemperate diſorders; the laws, manners, cuſtoms, and intereſts of a people are at variance; nor was it poſſible for Greece to avoid receiving ſome ſhocks in her political conſtitution, ſtill more ſeverely felt, as her cities became more independent. Suppoſing Athens, at this period, to have been even better calculated than her *rival*, for pre-eminence of ſtation, the Greeks and the colonies were nevertheleſs guilty of an egregious miſtake

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in drawing her from the ſecondary rank ſhe had always been conſidered in! Ought they not to have foreſeen the impoſſibility that Lacedæmon (irrevocably attached to the ancient ſyſtem, and whoſe military reputation had been lately augmented) ſhould ſubmit to be no longer regarded as the capital of Greece? Surely her pride was an inſurmountable obſtacle! Yet Athens, inflated with ſucceſs, devoured by ambition, graſping at power, fond of hazardous enterprizes, tired of advantages in poſſeſſion, and hunting after ſuch as were unattainable, Athens, I ſay, inveſted with ſupreme authority by her allies, ought indefatigably to have purſued thoſe meaſures that tended to the ſtability and ſecurity of this newborn influence. A rupture between the two principal ſtates was inevitably to involve Greece in all her former diſtreſſes.

Was it not to be dreaded, in a conteſt inſtigated by ambition, that, which ever ſide proved victorious, their country would find an oppreſſor? and that the colonies muſt be expoſed, by the diſcord that raged in the mother country, to arbitrary impoſitions from the Perſians? [a] The original texture of the Grecian government was ſo ſtrongly wrought, as to produce in the minds of the Spartans and Athenians, (notwithſtanding their intereſts were become ſeperate) a variety of efforts to avoid the appearance of hoſtilities, which the circumſtances of the times, darkened with ſuſpicion, neceſſarily rendered inevitable. They confined their meaſures to the ſecret interruption of each others tranquillity, aſhamed openly to confeſs the want of that boaſted unanimity ſo long held up as an example to other cities. Theſe two republicks commonly ſtyled themſelves the feet, arms, and eyes of Greece;

[a] In a treaty made by the Athenians with the Perſian monarch, the latter agreed that the Greek cities of Aſia Minor ſhould continue to be governed by their own laws. After Sparta entered into a war with Athens, ſhe invited the Perſians into an alliance, and reſigned the colonies to their diſcretion.

Greece; expreſſions which ſo thoroughly impoſed on the minds of the citizens, that they concluded, ſhould any diſaſter befall either, Greece muſt be inſtantly reduced to a ſtate of inactive blindneſs.

Sparta had weighty reaſons to have engaged her to ſuppreſs the firſt emotions of jealouſy. She was too weak to ſubdue a power ſupported by the reſt of Greece, under the conduct of men whoſe extraordinary talents had planned the Perſian war, and whoſe ſucceſs had encreaſed the publick confidence and courage. Her former influence was only to be regained by the ſteps that originally created it; that is to ſay, by perſeverance in her accuſtomed moderation: whilſt Athens, debauched by proſperity, might quickly have furniſhed a favourable opportunity of conqueſt.

The real ſource of grandeur in a government, ariſes from the wiſdom of cementing a firm union amongſt the citizens; inſpiring them with reverence for the laws; inſtructing each individual, to ſeek his particular intereſt in that of the publick, and, by an emulation of the virtues of his countrymen, diſplay his own talents to advantage! whilſt he finds in himſelf the ſource of that æquanimity neceſſary to ſupport the ſunſhine of *Fortune* undazzled, or, by a manly reſiſtance, is enabled to riſe ſuperior to her caprices. The model of the Athenian government was far beneath this ſcale of perfection. If the tyranny of Piſiſtratus, and the terrour of the Perſian arms had improved their virtues, proſperity had likewiſe engendered new vices. An abſolute democracy is the worſt of all inſtitutions; and this was the eſtabliſhed mode of government in Athens. It was impoſſible for the republick to draw any advantage from magiſtrates, who had no regular juridical code to direct them; whilſt the populace, open to deception and bribery, had a power veſted in them,

of

of reviſing every decree, and frequently gave oppoſite deciſions! Solon could never, conſiſtently with reaſon, flatter himſelf with regulating the conduct of his countrymen, by determinate maxims; becauſe he had appointed a ſenate to [*b*] prepare ſuch matters as were proper to lay before the aſſembly of the people. He deſtroyed his own purpoſe by giving permiſſion to every citizen of the age of fifty to harangue them. Eloquence will ever form a party ſuperior to that of magiſtracy; and, by a tranſition familiar to his art, the orator could divert the imaginations of his audience to diſtant objects, and dictate decrees to which the ſenate was obliged to ſubmit. The council of Areopagus, reſtored by Solon to its ancient rights, exerciſed the uſeleſs privilege of *Cenſor* in ſuch a republick! How impracticable to regulate the manners of a people, accuſtomed, through a defect in the legiſlature, to indulge a ſpirit of licentiouſneſs, which properly formed the principles of their character, and rendered them incapable of controul. From hence aroſe thoſe viciſſitudes of virtues and vices among the Athenians, at different periods; and even in ſo eminent a degree, as neceſſarily to exclude their oppoſites. This nation, reproached with flagrant inſtances of iniquity, is ſometimes juſt as Ariſtides. Elevated to

[*b*] Athens was divided by Solon into four tribes; each of whom choſe a hundred citizens, who compoſed the *ſenate*. The number of inhabitants being greatly encreaſed, Cliſthenes divided them into ten tribes, each of which ſelected fifty, who formed the *ſenate*. Theſe ſenators had the precedency in the ſenate for 35, or 36 days. They drew lots for their rank; thoſe tribes who had the four higheſt numbers governed affairs during 36 days, the others only 35. This term was called the *Prytanie*, the preſiding ſenators, the *Prytanes*, and the ſenate itſelf, the Prytanæum. The publick aſſembly of the people was held in a place called *Pnyce*, or the Theatre of Bacchus. The ordinary days of meeting were the 11, 20, 30, and 33d of every *Prytanie*. As there could be no fixed days for extraordinary meetings, the people were then convened by the general, or magiſtrates. Some days before, bills were poſted, to inform them of the ſubject of deliberation. The aſſemblies were opened by the Prœdies, who declared the queſtion in debate, and the ſentiments of the ſenate.

to the ſublime views of Themiſtocles, we ſee it, afterwards, the dupe of the intriguing Pericles. Behold it brave with Cimon, timid with Nicias, inſolent with Cleon, raſh with Alcibiades!

The factions that formerly interrupted the repoſe of Athens, were not of a nature to remain long inactive. A law of Ariſtides, that permitted every citizen to aſpire to the ſenatorial dignity, inſpired the populace with an immoderate degree of pride, that continually ſtimulated them to ſhake off the yoke of the nobles, who, on their ſide, being accuſtomed to govern ever ſince the baniſhment of Piſiſtratus, regarded poſſeſſion as the legitimate and inconteſtable right of their order. If an expectation of ſeeing the Athenians ſoon immerſed in their darling vices tempered the jealouſy of Lacedæmon, the diſorders which threatened her rival, ought to have been, on the contrary, a very urgent motive to impel her to a ſpeedy rupture. It was the intereſt of the Athenians to ruſh into a war, to prevent having two ſuch formidable enemies to encounter, as the Spartans, and depravity of manners.

Independently of theſe conſiderations, which their native haughtineſs would not ſuffer them to perceive, they ought to have been ſenſible that the only method to give permanence to their newly-acquired greatneſs, was by augmentation. That the authority they claimed could never be ſolidly eſtabliſhed, till Sparta was reduced to the neceſſity of renouncing her pretenſions, and burying in oblivion the remembrance of her ancient glory.

In a conjuncture ſo critical, if the Athenians failed of ſucceſs, it was not for want of a leader equal to the enterprize. Never ſtateſman was better qualified for unravelling the ſubtileſt diſtinctions of political intereſts than Themiſtocles; nor more excelled in a wonderful facility of diſcerning the

the conſequences of events. Had he even wanted penetration, his inveterate hatred to the Lacedemonians would have ſupplied that deficiency. But the ſeeds of corruption began to be apparent amongſt the Athenians. Miſapprehending the real cauſe of its proſperity, this republick expected to be gorged with flattery, not inſtructed with counſel; and Themiſtocles had a ſoul too elevated to condeſcend to play the artful courtier, with a capricious multitude. A contraſt was drawn between the rigid reſerve of his behaviour, and the pleaſing and popular manners of Cimon: the profuſion of the latter, made the œconomy of the former paſs for ſordid avarice. In a word, the Athenians abandoned Themiſtocles, whoſe merit was, that he had ſaved the republick, to attach themſelves to Cimon, who had revenged her quarrel with the Perſians. In order to conceal, or rather, juſtify this ingratitude, they liſtened to the malicious ſuggeſtions of his enemies, feigned apprehenſions from his vengeance, and condemned him to baniſhment.

In Cimon were collected all the virtues of a good citizen, with the more uncommon, and moſt deſirable talents of a great general. Active, vigilant, indefatigable, he enjoyed the ſingular honour of triumphing, on the ſame day, by ſea and land. But, notwithſtanding the authority of Plutarch, whoſe judgment in this point is fallible, I will venture to affirm, he wanted many requiſite qualifications to place him on a level with Themiſtocles, in political ſcience. If the relief of the colonies from foreign garriſons was a rational ſcheme, Cimon gave no proof of ſagacity in being ſo far miſled by popular prejudices, as to conſider the Perſians as the moſt dangerous enemy Athens had to fear. Perhaps, unconvinced himſelf of the propriety of ſuch an opinion, he reſolved to carry the war into Aſia, as the certain means of procuring

the Athenians a conſiderable booty, and his own arms an eaſily-acquired reputation.

Yet, ſuppoſing there was no imprudence in irritating, to the laſt degree, a power, only weak from the indolence of monarchs whoſe timidity checked the exertion of her natural ſtrength, it was at leaſt a ſtep that could be productive of no advantages! Of what avail to purſue through Aſia and Egypt, the common enemy of Greece, inattentive to a private adverſary, ready to enter their gates? or of what importance to Athens were victories, which could not augment her power on either element; and which, by beſtowing too great a degree of ſecurity on her new allies, would conſequently render an alliance with her leſs neceſſary?

The adminiſtration of Cimon appears extreamly defective in many particulars. If he thought the quarrel between Athens and Sparta irreconcileable, and that all efforts to prevent its becoming publick would be ineffectual, why did he omit taking advantage of ſo favourable an opportunity to humble the Lacedemonians? Inſtead of turning the reſentment of the people towards Perſia, and ſpurring them on to an inconſiderate enterprize, the firſt ſtep he ought to have taken, in aſſuming the direction of publick affairs, was to cheriſh their riſing indignation againſt Sparta, and againſt Pauſanias. Laconia had been depopulated of more than twenty thouſand perſons, by an earthquake; Cimon made no uſe of that event! The Helotes, at the inſtigation of the Meſſenians, had revolted; Cimon was ſtill ſilent, whilſt the orator, Ephialtes, harangued the people, to ſuffer Lacedæmon to periſh! A more ſteady and ſkilful politician would have pointed out the neceſſity of encouraging and aſſiſting theſe rebellious ſlaves; nor would have wanted arguments to ſet their rebellion in the faireſt point of view, by repreſenting the

Spartans

Spartans as tyrannical monſters, who trampled on the laws of ſocial humanity; and in whoſe extirpation mankind ought to aſſociate! But Cimon, far from diſcerning the intereſt of his country, avowed himſelf the protector of the Lacedemonians, whoſe virtues he admired and reſpected. He prevailed with his countrymen to [c] ſupport them; and to pardon the injuſtice with which their zeal had been repaid, in ſuſpecting them of clandeſtinely abetting the inſurrection.

If, on the other ſide, this general apprehended it not impracticable to reſtore the ancient amity of the two republicks, and extinguiſh their preſent animoſities, by appropriating to one the ſovereign command at ſea, to the other at land, why did he not act correſpondently to this apprehenſion? It ſeems evident, his genius was contracted; he proceeded, as ſuppoſing the intereſt of his country had ſuffered no alteration; a conduct that will ever make him be regarded as a man driven along by the gale of popularity, who made war like a great ſoldier, but a moderate politician. Cimon would, on ſome occaſions, venture to expoſtulate with great freedom, in oppoſition to the opinion of the people; and as he was frequently abſent on publick buſineſs, his enemies made uſe of thoſe opportunities to ſap his reputation. Secretly attached to the nobility, whoſe pretenſions he favoured, he endeavoured at the reeſtabliſhment of their influence, and neglected nothing that could contribute to ſupport the dignity of the magiſtrates. Whilſt Pericles, perhaps ſtill more an enemy to democracy, flattered the multitude into ſuſpicions of a man, to whoſe

[c] The Helotes were a people of Peloponneſus, whom the Lacedemonians had vanquiſhed, and made their ſlaves. In all writers, details are to be found of the cruelties exerciſed on this unfortunate race. Their maſters regarded them as their moſt inveterate enemies, and when they multiplied too faſt, a certain number were exterminated. Plutarch obſerves, it was not long after the time of Lycurgus that the Spartans began to treat their ſlaves with this exceſs of inhumanity.

fall he was to be indebted for his own elevation. Capable of aſſuming ſentiments the moſt foreign to his heart, of comprehending at the ſame inſtant a multiplicity of objects, and of combining them with the moſt accurate preciſion, his exquiſite propriety of underſtanding always directed him to a choice of the moſt infallible means for the attainment of his end. A great captain, a great ſtateſman, and a ſtill greater orator; Athens had never yet beheld a citizen, in whom ſuch an aſſemblage of talents were united; but all theſe accompliſhments, ſubſervient to ambition, proved fatal to his country.

It had not eſcaped the obſervation of Pericles, that inconſiſtency of conduct in his predeceſſors in power laid the foundation of their deſtruction. The ſame men at different periods were diſintereſted, reſolute, avaricious and timid. Far from purſuing their example of being partially virtuous, or vitious, ſometimes agitated with zeal for the publick, at others for their private emolument, now irritating the populace, then ſervilely courting their applauſe, Pericles made it an invariable maxim to ſacrifice every thing to his ambition.

In order to render the prodigality of Cimon leſs ſtriking in the eyes of the multitude, expence was neceſſary; and, as the fortune of Pericles was then not above mediocrity, he ſaw the neceſſity of availing himſelf of the riches of the ſtate. He laviſhed donations on the populace, to enable them to be preſent at the publick aſſemblies, as well as theatrical repreſentations. Poſſeſſed with the frenzy of political knowledge, their curioſity to hear the pleadings of the orators, only gave place to their paſſion for the theatre. Eager to decide, where individuals were concerned, and to hear all that paſſed in the tribunals of juſtice, they left Pericles an unbounded authority in the general adminiſtration of affairs.

This maſter of the affections of the people was too ſkilful

to

to rely upon the ſtability of their favour, on any other terms than invariable complaiſance to their caprices. He became the very ſoul of the republick. He held the great in ſubjection, by throwing the council of Areopagus, and the reſt of the magiſtrates, into contempt; deciding every queſtion according to his will. Yet, however perſuaſive his eloquence, a reverſe of fortune might invalidate all the flouriſhes of the rhetorician, ſhake the very foundation of Athens to its centre, and, in awakening her from a ſtate of lethargic intoxication, prove the deſtruction of her idol. Pericles ſaw the danger, and diſplayed the ſuperiority of his genius in never embarking the republick in any enterprize, without an apparent certainty of ſucceſs. On theſe principles, it was impoſſible for him to repair the miſtake I have pointed out in Cimon. So far was he from meditating an attack on Lacedæmon, that he beheld with vexation the encreaſe of that jealouſy of the Athenian glory, which was but too apparent. His apprehenſions were alarmed, leſt the Spartans, ſeconded by their Peloponneſian auxiliaries, ſhould come to an open rupture; when the diſtinction of commander in chief againſt a people, hitherto deemed invincible, would be attended with greater embarraſſment and fatigue than he was able to encounter. The only reſource left was, to introduce corruption in Lacedæmon. To accompliſh this, he maintained penſionnaries, [*d*] who, under the maſk of extolling the moderation of their anceſtors, the laws of Lycurgus, and the love of their country, declaimed againſt the calamities of war, the better to ſecure a continuation of pacific meaſures. But peace itſelf became a new inconvenience. The Perſian war began

[*d*] Pericles diſtributed ten talents annually amongſt the principal Lacedemonians. *See Plutarch.* A talent weighed ſixty pounds, Troy weight, about ninety marks of French money, or 2062*l.* ſterling. *See Arbuthnot.* When we know the value of a mark of ſilver, it is eaſy to make the computation.

began to be conſidered as unfaſhionable; this was a real evil, as it gratified at once the compound taſte of the Athenians, for glory and magnificence, by aſſuring them an eaſy conqueſt, with a conſiderable booty. The danger alſo was great, of ſuffering them to ſink into too great inactivity. To decide critically on the merit of a theatrical piece, a picture, ſtatue, or edifice, were inſufficient employments to occupy their minds. The Athenians muſt have enemies, armies, campaigns, and victories, or their native reſtleſſneſs, excited by political cabals, then warmly renewed, would ſoon have rendered the taſk of guiding them too difficult for the art of man to accompliſh.

Fortunately for Pericles, the allies were not equally ſatisfied with his adminiſtration. They had no objections to the luxury or pleaſures in which the republick was immerſed, but they thought it unreaſonable to pay the expence of feaſts and publick ſhews; and that Pericles ſhould levy more than ſix hundred talents, by way of contribution, to procure his citizens frivolous amuſements, when Cimon was contented with ſixty to carry on a foreign war. The perfidy of Pericles reduced to deſpair a people, whoſe weakneſs made reſiſtance their inevitable ruin. Beſides their being entirely unconnected with each other, ſo that it was impoſſible for them to act in concert, the colonies were void of ambition; they were ſatisfied with the reſtoration of liberty, and had obtained of Cimon an exemption from farther aſſiſtance, than furniſhing ſhips and money, to ſupport the war commenced with Perſia, on their account. Accuſtomed, by this indulgence, to the tranquillity of a life of leiſure, they became ignorant of martial exerciſes; and, according to the judicious obſervation of Thucydides, finding themſelves exhauſted by the taxation to which they had ſubmitted, they were no longer capable

capable of oppoſing the will of Athens, whenever it was her choice to treat them rather as ſubjects than allies. By repreſenting the murmurs of theſe unfortunate men as an inſufferable offence, tending to deſtroy all kind of ſubordination, Pericles eaſily rendered them odious to the Athenians, whom he perſuaded to engage in a war that muſt neceſſarily advance his own reputation, from the certainty of uninterrupted ſucceſs: whilſt the republick, pleaſed with gaining battles and taking cities, no matter at what price, was too ignorant of her real intereſt to diſcern, that advantages over allies were indications of an approaching decline; and that a revolt of her colonies would lead Athens back to the ſame point of imbecility, in which ſhe appeared at the commencement of the Aſiatic war.

The political influence of Pericles ſtill appeared immutable, notwithſtanding the declenſion of that of Athens; but the cuſtomary time to account for the diſpoſal of the publick money arrived. This was a delicate affair to tranſact. Not that Pericles had enriched himſelf at the expence of the ſtate; yet, either from his own negligence, or the diſhoneſty of the ſubaltern officers of the treaſury, who acted under his commiſſion, a very conſiderable ſum remained unaccounted for. He was alſo unwilling the Athenians ſhould be acquainted with the exhauſted ſtate of their finances, as ſuch a diſcovery was evidently to decry the prodigality of expence in feaſts, ſports, and theatrical repreſentations; and a tacit confeſſion, that the final tendency of theſe amuſements was the ruin of the republick and her allies. The well [*e*] known witty

[*e*] Alcibiades, wanting to ſpeak with Pericles, knocked at his door, and, requeſting an audience, was anſwered, he could not be interrupted, being buſied in conſidering how to prepare his accounts, for the inſpection of the Athenians. Would it not be more judicious, ſaid Alcibiades withdrawing, for him to conſider how to prevent their inſpecting them at all? *(Plutarch's life of Alcibiades.)*

witty reply of Alcibiades, in this extremity, ſerved for counſel to Pericles. Inſtead of thinking how to make a plauſible eſtimate of his diſburſements, his ſole ſtudy was, how he ſhould avoid making any at all. To accompliſh his purpoſe, it became neceſſary to transfer the attention of the Athenians, from domeſtick concerns, to ſome important foreign enterprize. Not one of the colonies had courage to appear in arms. Intimidated as they were by the ſeverity of their bondage, they confined their reſentment within their own breaſts till ſome favourable opportunity ſhould give it vent. Pericles was tardy in remittances to his Laconian penſionnaries; who, inſtead of revenging his omiſſion, by expatiating ſtill more largely on the bleſſings of peace, injudiciouſly gave up the argument. From that moment the republick of Lacedæmon, having no longer any impediment to the indulgence of her natural inclination, embittered by the complaints of her allies, paſſed a decree, by which ſhe agreed to take Corinth, Potidea, Ægina, and Megæra under her protection.

Pericles, to whom every thing ſucceeded according to his wiſhes, took advantage of this alliance, to irritate the pride of his countrymen. "The controvertible point is not, ſaid he, "whether we ought to pay a ſhameful complaiſance to the "will of Lacedæmon, in her injunction to abandon Potidea, "to enfranchiſe Ægina, to revoke our decree againſt Me-"gæra! Our own moderation might have inſtructed us to "ſteer between lenity and juſtice: but when Lacedæmon "preſumes to command, reſiſtance is the part of Athens! "If, influenced by the threat of an invaſion, you yielded to "the opinion of the Spartans, puſilanimity would be deem-"ed the only motive. A ſucceſſion of new demands would, "at length, either force you to refuſe compliance, or ſub-"mit to abject ſlavery! To day, by a vigorous exertion of

"public

" public ſpirit, you may remove the impending danger, " impoſe laws on your allies, and give an everlaſting exam- " ple to Lacedæmon, that overbearing inſolence can never " be crowned with ſucceſs. To morrow, perhaps, may be " a day too late. "

The affairs of the Athenians, however reduced, were not yet in a ſituation ſo deſperate as to render it impoſſible for Pericles to have formed a plan of action capable not only of aggrandizing, but of confirming their power, at the expence of their rival. Pericles poſſeſſed talents adequate to the undertaking, but, ever attentive to the ſelfiſh advantage of governing, or rather enſlaving his countrymen, he was fearful leſt an enlarged, and extenſive plan of operations ſhould terminate in the contraction of his private views. He was apprehenſive, that if the Athenians ſhould turn the whole weight of their arms againſt Sparta, with a reſolution to exterminate her, as a people, it would render the enterprize hazardous and bloody; nor could he decline the poſt of commander in chief without forfeiting his honour and reputation. On the contrary, in propoſing to the Athenians an indeterminate and defenſive war, bounding all military exploits to the pillage of Laconia, he was left entirely at liberty to regulate his conduct by circumſtances, to retreat or advance, varying his machinations with the turn of events, and conſtantly acting the part moſt adapted to his particular advantage.

But, if the miſguided Athenians commenced hoſtilities, by ſeeing objects through a falſe medium, the Lacedemonians, on their ſide, were equally ignorant of their real intereſt. They ſeemed to imitate the example of their adverſary, in beſtowing all their attention on the circumſtance which ſerved as a pretext for a rupture; regarding *that* as the ſole cauſe, and ultimate end of a war. One could ſcarce have

believed them actuated by ambition, ſo remote were their thoughts from the proper object of its purſuit.

Since jealouſy of the Athenian glory, and deſire of recovering their ancient ſuperiority in Greece, were the motives that armed the Lacedemonians, it was neceſſary they ſhould reduce the Athenians to their original ſtandard, or rather below it. The moſt probable means to effect this, was granting freedom to the tributary nations; availing themſelves of the diſcontent of the allies, to win them over to their party; and, by the general tenour of their proceedings, to have inſpired the reſt of Greece with a boundleſs and unreſerved confidence. Sparta, however, acted on principles diametrically oppoſite. She ſolicited the friendſhip of Perſia, and ſacrificed to that court the Aſiatic colonies. She even granted her protection with reluctance to thoſe cities who waited for her aſſiſtance to ſhake off the Athenian yoke: and inſtead of treating with gentleneſs ſuch allies of her competitor as remained faithful to their firſt engagements, ſhe equally extended her ſeverity to all.

Had the Athenians comprehended their true intereſt, they would have been ſatisfied with a marine force, powerful enough to intimidate their allies, and ſecure the publick revenues. Very far from exhauſting their ſtrength in the uſeleſs augmentation of a naval armament, they would have applied with diligence to increaſe the number of their land forces. No advantages could accrue from building fleets to awe Peloponneſus; this could only injure the allies of Lacedæmon; whereas the reduction of that republick was the great point in which all military preparations ought to have centred.

Hiſtory tranſmits to us few wars conducted with a leſs degree of intelligence than that of Peloponneſus. The two principal powers ſeem ſo equally blind to the main purpoſe, that all their movements

movements are rather deviations from it. Whilſt Archidamus attacks the Platæans, and falls on Acarnania, the Athenians make an irruption into Calcidæ and Bottiæ! Does an ally revolt? the attention of both parties is turned immediately on that ſide! Sometimes the theatre of action is in the iſles of Leſbos, or Corcyra, in the territories of the Megareans, inſtantly it is tranſported to Ætolia, Bæotia, or Thrace! Thus, by a diviſion of their forces, both republicks were rendered incapable of coming to a deciſive engagement. Fortunate and unſucceſsful by turns, their loſſes and advantages were ſo equally balanced that Athens and Lacedæmon, after fruitleſſly exhauſting and enfeebling each other, were leſs in a ſtate of impoſing laws, and more remote from attaining the main object of their ambition.

The war had now continued ten years; whilſt both republicks ſuffered greater injury from the miſtaken ſyſtem purſued by their own citizens, than from the devaſtations of the enemy; when, ſtill more inveterate in reſentment, as debilitated in ſtrength, neceſſity obliged them to ſign an amicable treaty for themſelves, and animoſity inſtigated them to a proſecution of the war by their allies.

Notwithſtanding that neither Cimon nor Pericles, in their miniſterial capacity, had conducted the Athenians in the path moſt conducive to the glory of their country, yet the one, whoſe views always tended towards utility, had not degraded its conſequence; and the other preſerved its reputation by the happy ſucceſs of his enterprizes, however detrimental to the welfare of the ſtate ſuch enterprizes might be, whoſe falſe ſplendour impoſed on perſons guided only by appearances. But after the death of Pericles, who baniſhed merit from his preſence, and employed only ſuch perſons in the adminiſtration as were incapable of exciting his jealouſy,

Athens of courſe became a prey to a ſett of men whoſe ambition was of the moſt groveling ſpecies. Deficient in talents, knowledge, integrity of heart, and elevation of ſentiment, they believed a blind ſervility to the will of the multitude the only requiſite qualification in the leader of a republick.

The Athenians who regarded [*f*] *Oſtraciſm* as the ſecurity of that liberty reſtored by the exile of the Piſiſtradæ, muſt have continued under the influence of their moſt obſcure and deſpicable citizens, had not ſeveral of their inſtitutions, calculated to inſpire a taſte for glory and patriotiſm, awakened the ardour of emulation in men of talents; and even conquered that [*g*] indolence, the reſult of retirement, which the fear of baniſhment from an ungrateful republick, had plunged them into. As political knowledge was neceſſary to render a man reſpectable in Athens, it was alſo neceſſary for him to eraſe the idea of *Oſtraciſm* in ſome degree from his remembrance. During the adminiſtration of Pericles, the republick

[*f*] *Oſtraciſm*, practiſed before in ſeveral ſtates of Greece, owed its origin in Athens to the baniſhment of the Piſiſtradæ. It conſiſted in a decree of exile for ten years; unattended with diſgrace, as ſuch citizens were, alone, its objects, whoſe eminent merit and ſervices rendered them too formidable in a republican government. The people aſſembled on theſe occaſions to paſs ſentence; and each citizen wrote upon a *ſhell* the name of him he believed moſt capable of circumventing publick liberty; and if the ſuffrages amounted to ſix thouſand, he was baniſhed. *Petaliſm*, (baniſhment for five years) a ſimilar cuſtom in Syracuſe, occaſioned the moſt virtuous citizens to act with timidity. Thoſe whoſe purity of manners and enlargement of underſtanding recommended as proper to preſide at the helm, withdrew from the hazardous elevation, to the ſecurity of private life. So that the direction of publick affairs devolved on the moſt contemptible perſons. Ariſtotle ſays, that *Oſtraciſm* was the guard of liberty, but wiſhes it might owe its preſervation to ſome other method.

[*g*] We read in Plutarch, that the father of Themiſtocles, obſerving with concern that his ſon aſpired to the higheſt employments in the ſtate, in order to moderate that propenſity, led him to the ſea ſhore; and pointing to the diſabled galleys of the republick, which were rotting in the docks, compared them to ſtateſmen grown old in the ſervice of their country, who are always neglected when no longer of uſe.

republick had imbibed ſo paſſionate a degree of fondneſs for philoſophy and the fine arts, as induced it to beſtow equal eſteem and conſideration on their profeſſors, as on magiſtrates and generals. This was an inducement to men of ſenſe to purſue the leſs dangerous paths of glory, now opened to their view, and pre-eminence in ſciences and arts began to incite the ambition of men of the moſt excellent political talents.

This, or ſome other cauſe, occaſioned ſuch a dearth of political merit in Athens, at the death of Pericles, that Cleon, a man mentioned by all hiſtorians with the utmoſt contempt, aſſumed a predominant influence over his competitors. Fortune endows all men of intrigue with confidence. To accompliſh the violent removal, or ruin of an adverſary, they indiſcriminately employ knavery, calumny, with the reſidue of thoſe deteſtably mean artifices, which muſt ever terminate in the deſtruction of thoſe who have recourſe to their aſſiſtance. The people, diſtracted by faction and cabal, dreaded that culpable indolence which gives up every thing to the citizen who engages their eſteem. They diſtruſted every one; were conſtantly on their guard; ſtruggled for freedom; and experienced all thoſe tumultuous agitations which are deſtructive to the conſtitution of a ſtate.

The prevalence of Cleon, and his raſh ſyſtem of politicks, had led the Athenians to the brink of ruin, when the principal citizens, of whom, to conciliate favour with the multitude, he was the declared enemy, raiſed him up a competitor; but had nothing better to oppoſe than Nicias, whoſe exceſſive timidity made him tremble at the publick nomination. One may imagine, from this circumſtance, how ill calculated he was for the part allotted him to act. He was not deficient in good qualities, was generous, and eloquent;

quent; but, by an unaccountable puſilanimous diffidence in his own abilities, he wanted reſolution to appear publickly virtuous. Cleon, with his noiſy inſolence, ſilenced the modeſt virtues of Nicias. The people excuſed the rapaciouſneſs of the one, and could not diſtingniſh the diſintereſtedneſs of the other. A brave ſoldier, but an irreſolute commander, every enterprize appeared impracticable to Nicias. Whenever procraſtination ſuffered him to act, the favourable moment for action was already paſt. Involved in doubts and deliberations, ſcarce has he made an effort of deciſion, when a more advantageous idea ſtarts up, which his imagination purſues, and quickly abandons for ſome now chimæra. Cleon, on the contrary, was inſenſible to difficulties. Whether an enterprize were raſh or prudent, a meaſure rational or abſurd, was juſt the ſame to Cleon. At length the Athenians, perplexed and divided between the inactive talents and virtues of the one, and the undaunted folly and impudence of the other, either wanted courage to come to any determination, or made choice of the worſt meaſures that were offered.

Alcibiades now began to appear on the theatre of publick affairs. He was not a man of ambition, but of vanity; which he indulged in making himſelf the principal object of diſcourſe and admiration in Athens. His courage, eloquence and every circumſtance of his behaviour were embelliſhed with peculiar graces. Devoted to the voluptuouſneſs of love, and the exceſſes of the table; conſcious of his ſuperior powers of pleaſing, and a certain inſinuating ductility of manners, which ſeldom fails to ruin the poſſeſſor, he, now, ſeemed to engage in politicks, only as a relaxation from pleaſure. His genius was admirable, but the ſprings of action in his ſoul, having loſt their force, were incapable of unremitting

mitting attention. He could be great only by ſtarts. I find it difficult to believe, that a character ſo flexible and pliant as that of Alcibiades, who aſſumed the manners of every country, in Sparta ruggedly and ſeverely virtuous, in Ionia refined and delicate as a native, who could give examples of ruſticity in Thrace, and in Aſia be envyed by the Satrapes, for his luxurious elegance, ever was intended by nature for a *great man*. Notwithſtanding his being the pupil of Socrates, he was little diſpoſed to conſider good and evil in any other lights than as conducive to his perſonal intereſt. The ſaying of Timon, the miſanthrope, is well known: "Courage, "my dear friend, ſaid he, ſhaking Alcibiades by the hand, "I am obliged to thee for acquiring ſo much reputation. Be "but once the idol of the people, and thou wilt do me ju- "ſtice on the abſurd Athenians."

In fact, the ruin of a ſtate cannot be far off when a man of this character is intruſted with ſupreme command. The graces give ſanction to a depravity of manners that draws after it a ſtagnation of legiſlative authority: Agreeable talents alone are honoured and encouraged, and the government, deſtitute of principles, becomes the ſport of caprice.

Guided by ſuch *rulers*, the courage of the Athenians grew torpid, and ſeemed abſolutely ſinking under the war with Laconia; when, ſeized with a kind of frenzy, they unexpectedly made a vigorous exertion of ſtrength, and collected a formidable force for the invaſion of Sicily. That iſland had long been a flattering object to their ambition; and Pericles, with all his perſuaſive powers, could ſcarcely reſtrain their impetuoſity. The complaints of the Leontines, and Ægeſtians, againſt Syracuſe, rouſed theſe ſubſiding ideas. Already they enjoyed, by anticipation, the reduction of Sicily, which was regarded as a military fortreſs, or arſenal, from whence

whence they might extend their empire over Italy, and Africa itſelf. The plan concerted, as Thucydides tells us in the ſpeech of Alcibiades, was to fall upon Peloponneſus with the additional forces of this ſubdued kingdom. But what ignorance in the Athenians, to imagine that diſtant territories ever produce an acceſſion of wealth equivalent to the expence of maintaining them! Could they be inſenſible of the unequal proportion of ſtrength between the republick of Athens and the kingdom of Sicily? Suppoſe even that the terror of their arms had thrown the Syracuſans into a ſudden panick, and facilitated their defeat, authority attained by violence could never have acquired a firm eſtabliſhment! Sicily muſt ſoon have diſcovered the weakneſs of the conqueror, and confidence ſucceeding to deſpondency muſt ſoon have occaſioned a revolt! What infatuation, not to diſcern that an attempt of this nature would only irritate the Lacedemonians, and, at the ſame time, be regarded by them as a material advantage! Was it not evident that a ſeparation of its forces expoſed Athens to the hazard of repulſes, both in Sicily and Peloponneſus? In a word, ſince that republick could aſſemble an army ſtrong enough to beſiege a city ſo conſiderable as Syracuſe, would it not have been more eligible to attack the capital of Sparta; and then, crowned with ſucceſs, have turned the combined armies of Greece againſt a foreign power, rather than to avail itſelf of foreign aſſiſtance in attempting the conqueſt of Greece?

In proportion to the abſurdity of the enterprize, the meaſures purſued were extravagant. Percedent to the departure of the fleet, the Athenians gave inſtructions to their commanders, that when they had made themſelves maſters of Syracuſe, and Selinuntum, they were to ſell the inhabitants, and levy contributions on the other cities of Sicily. This

was,

was, by reducing them to a ſtate of deſperation, to invite the Syracuſians and Selinuntines to defend their liberties to the laſt extremity; and to render them invincible, ſhould any poſſible means of reſiſtance exiſt. It was to alienate the hearts of the reſt of the inhabitants, and cut off all expectations of aſſiſtance, by convincing them their own intereſt and that of thoſe two cities were inſeparable.

As Athens could no longer boaſt of a Themiſtocles, whoſe perſpicacious ſagacity might have ſtruck out ſome latent means of repairing the folly of a war commenced under evil auſpices, there could be no probability of ſucceſs, but from leaving the conduct of it to Alcibiades, whoſe genius and intrepidity were calculated to give birth to romantic events; to thoſe ſtrange, unexpected turns of fortune that ſometimes confound reaſon, and change the very nature of things. But ſcarcely was he landed on the coaſt of Sicily than his enemies conſpired his deſtruction; and, by ſecuring religion and the prieſts in their intereſt, contrived to have Alcibiades recalled, to anſwer a criminal proceſs before the people. Nicias, who had conſidered the war as a ſpecies of delirium in his fellow citizens, ſhared the command of the army with Lamachus, an enterprizing ſoldier, who thought courage and perſeverance enſured ſucceſs. With him, the moſt favourable ſituation for attacking an enemy, was always that wherein he found himſelf. This *general* being ſlain, Nicias found his apprehenſions encreaſe with his honours. Whilſt he oppoſed the ardent impetuoſity of his colleague with calm deliberation, he was obliged to have an opinion; but his incertitude returned the moment he was left alone in the military command. He wrote to Athens for re-enforcements, and new coadjutors; and, in expectation of their arrival, he remained inactive, meditating an honourable retreat. Demoſ-

thenes and Eurymedon were appointed his aſſociates: men whoſe diſſimilitude of character rendered it ſo impoſſible for them to think or act in conjunction, as muſt alone have overturned the moſt practicable and beſt concerted operations.

Whoever recollects the conſiderable loſſes ſuſtained by the Athenians in Sicily, will eaſily comprehend the impoſſibility of reſtoring their republick to its original ſplendour. Its finances were totally exhauſted; its navy ſo reduced as to render the difficulty of being ſupplied with the neceſſaries of life by ſea very urgent; whilſt the fields of Attica lay uncultivated. For the Lacedemonians, purſuant to the advice of Alcibiades, who had taken refuge among them, fortified Décelia, from whence they ravaged the country with impunity. No longer in a ſtate to impoſe laws on her allies, Athens every day experienced freſh inſtances of defection: whilſt Lacedæmon, on the contrary, gained additional vigour from the alliance of cities diſguſted with the haughtineſs of her rival. Revenge induced the Syracuſians to furniſh a numerous fleet, that veſted in the Spartans the empire of the ſea; and the ambaſſadors of Tiſſaphernes, a Perſian Satrape, governor of the maritime provinces in Aſia, offered aſſiſtance, and ſolicited them to endeavour the total extirpation of the Athenians.

The fate of this people might probably have been decided, had the Spartans attacked the Pyræeum. "An impreſſion "there, ſays Thucydides, would have augmented the con- "fuſion that reigned in the government; the Athenians "would have ſunk under their timidity, without coming to "any reſolution; and their dominion would infallibly have "been circumſcribed within the limits of their walls. But, "continues the hiſtorian, this is not the firſt time that the "circumſpection, natural to the Lacedemonians, has occa-

"ſioned

" ſioned their loſing apparent advantages. " In reality, no circumſtance could appear deciſive to a people who never had had any fixed object in view during the courſe of the war! An accumulation of ſtrength was, to Sparta, an accumulation of perplexity.

Her ſuperiority was, however, of ſhort duration. Syracuſe was neceſſitated to recall her troops to defend her againſt the Carthaginians; and Alcibiades, who found himſelf treated with contempt from the time his country declined in reputation, to avoid being cruſhed in the impending ruin, reſolved to enlighten Tiſſaphernes in regard to the real intereſt of Perſia. He made him ſenſible that, far from deſiring to terminate the war that depopulated Greece, or lending the Spartans aſſiſtance againſt the Athenians, he ought to hold the two republicks in equilibrium. That, by computing their reſpective advantages, deſtroying the one by the other, and fomenting their rooted emulation, he might lay them equally under the neceſſity of flying to the Perſian monarch for protection, who conſequently would become the mediator, or rather arbiter of Greece.

The return of Alcibiades to Athens, at this critical juncture, ſeemed to revive its former courage. That *general* gained an advantage over the Lacedemonians conſiderable enough to induce them to ſue for peace. Both republicks had felt all the evils of war, whilſt neither could boaſt the ſmalleſt advantage from it. Fallen as Athens was, one would imagine every ſpark of ambition that incited the jealouſy of Sparta ſhould have been extinguiſhed. Yet ſome eſſential articles in the treaty met with inſurmountable oppoſition; and Athens had very ſoon reaſon to repent having rejected the advantageous conditions offered by her rival. Alcibiades, it is true, was victorious in the field, but the brilliancy of his enterprizes ſhed a luſtre on the conduct of the general, without

contributing, in the ſmalleſt degree, to the good of the publick. Beſides, the inconſiderate behaviour of Alcibiades always furniſhed his opponents with arms to ſubdue him. He was a ſecond time diſgraced; preciſely at the moment when Perſia renounced the politicks adopted by Tiſſaphernes, and declared openly in favour of the Peloponneſians. [*b*]

A war conducted by corrupt commanders who betrayed the intereſts of their country, or by men of ſhallow intellects incapable of diſcerning it, ſeemed likely to terminate in the total ruin of Greece, when Lyſander appeared at the head of the Lacedemonians. The face of affairs ſoon wore a different aſpect, under an ambitious *chief*, whoſe genius, diſengaged from the maxims and prejudices of the times, opened itſelf an untried road to glory, and traced a plan of action whoſe importance his republick had hitherto been unacquainted with.

Deſpoiled of that pre-eminence ſo long enjoyed, embittered by a tedious war, ſolicited at once by the Greeks and Aſiatics to purſue the deſtruction of Athens, the Spartans ſtill retained their original principle of moderation; an evident proof of the wiſdom of Lycurgus's inſtitutions. [*i*] As if they were

[*b*] Cyrus, diſtinguiſhed in hiſtory by the appellation of Cyrus the Younger, had been appointed governor of Aſia-Minor by his brother Artaxerxes Mnemon. The ambition of this prince was unbounded; and, deſirous to execute a long-meditated ſcheme of uſurping the throne, he contracted a ſtrict league of amity with the Greeks, particularly thoſe of Peloponneſus. His deſign was to gain them to his intereſt; judging, with reaſon, that his ſcheme could never ſucceed, unleſs he united a body of Greeks with his provincial forces. With this view he ſupplied Lacedæmon with a conſiderable naval armament.

[*i*] If I am not miſtaken, this obſervation is a ſufficient reply to the reproaches thrown out againſt Lycurgus, both by Polybius and Ariſtotle. The latter accuſes that legiſlator of fruſtrating his own intentions, by making moderation the baſis of a military republick. The former blames him for ſuffering the Spartans to aſpire to the conqueſt of Greece. Surely theſe writers muſt have been inattentive to one circumſtance; *viz.* that ſix hundred years had intervened between Lycurgus and Lyſander.

were perſuaded that by mortifying the inſolence of their rival, ſhe would be reduced to fall voluntarily into her ſubaltern rank in the political ſcale, they ſeemed ſatisfied with her depreſſion. But Lyſander taught them to comprehend, that after ſo long and obſtinate a war, there remained one only prudent, ſecure, and vigorous part to act. That a peace, whatever were its terms, ought always to be conſidered as precarious in its duration, whilſt the Athenians had the leaſt hope left to reinſtate themſelves: That Sparta ought to avail herſelf of her preſent ſuperiority in the termination of a quarrel which might, otherwiſe, break out with freſh ardour, when the circumſtances of affairs were leſs favourable. Lyſander regarded every victory as a nearer ſtep to the ruin of Athens. Every advantage gained over the remains of her maritime force, was with a view of blocking up the harbour by ſea, to facilitate the movements of Agis and Pauſanias, who conducted the ſiege by land. The moment, fatal to Athens, arrived. Reduced to the laſt extremity, ſhe ſupplicated for peace — agreed to demoliſh her fortifications, and the walls of the Pyræum. She emancipated the tributary cities; recalled her exiled citizens; delivered up all her galleys, except twelve; and engaged not to enter into any war but as ſubordinate to Lacedæmon. Lyſander gave the mortal wound to the glory of the republick by ſubverting its political conſtitution. He put a period to democracy, and veſted the ſupreme authority in thirty citizens.

No impediment longer remained to the re-eſtabliſhment of the original ſyſtem of policy in Greece; and, in all probability, Lacedæmon would have been ſatisfied with the reſtitution of her former rank, had ſhe been permitted to indulge her natural moderation. But, in the very moment of triumph, when proſperity rendered her leſs attentive to danger, ſhe was

was deceived by the hero who had crowned her with laurels; by that Lyſander, who ungenerouſly and baſely ſacrificed his country to ſelfiſh gratifications.

Never did a Spartan poſſeſs leſs of the manners of Sparta than Lyſander. Oaths, compacts, publick ſpirit, honour, perfidy, were with him mere words, unaccompanied with ideas. In his eſtimation, virtues and vices were equal: he conſidered them only as more or leſs inſtrumental to the purpoſes of his ambition. The rank of citizen appeared too groveling. He aſpired to that of king. Not in the character of a tyrant, who wants to ſubvert the government by violence, but in that of a refined politician, who undertakes a reformation of its abuſes. According to the hiſtorians, his plan was to decry hereditary right, as a barbarous cuſtom, that frequently entruſted the reins of government to the hands of an infant, or a man ſcarcely capable of performing the duties of a private citizen; but that the happineſs of a nation required royalty ſhould be the reward of merit. In order to prepare the minds of the people for ſo important a revolution, it became neceſſary to undermine the general conſtitution of the ſtate; to weaken the authority of the laws; flatter the paſſions; and, above all, to inſtil into the Spartans, a taſte for novelty. This ſubtile politician was not yet ſatisfied. Under the ſanction of ſupporting the reputation of his country by new enterprizes, he introduced the uſe of gold and ſilver, with a view of corrupting the morals of the people, and winning them over to his deſigns with greater facility. The better to impoſe on the world, he determined to have the general concurrence of Greece when he aſſumed the ſceptre. With this view he attempted, and ſucceeded in the abolition of popular government in her cities, ſubſtituting in its ſtead councils of regency, devoted to his will, becauſe incapable

incapable of ſupporting their new dignity without his protection.

The death of Lyſander ſaved Sparta from impending ruin, but left a perplexed authority impoſſible to be maintained. Very far, in reality, from preparing their way to elevation with that artful addreſs which an inveſtigation of the policy of Philip will, in the next book, enable me to explain, he omitted inſtructing the Lacedemonians to conceal their ambition; and to endeavour at inſpiring their neighbours with that confidence in their integrity which might intereſt them in their proſperity. Dupes to Lyſander's cunning, they became haughty and inſolent as the Athenians. All Greece meditated revenge; and Lacedæmon had no other friends than the tyrants eſtabliſhed by Lyſander, whoſe death paved the way to the ruin of his creatures.

However juſt the encomiums I have beſtowed on Lycurgus's inſtutions may be, they were not calculated to maintain his republick in that newly-acquired empire ſhe owed to the policy of Lyſander. That great legiſlator taught her to govern Greece by that aſcendancy which ſuperior virtue and merit will always create; the tyrannical uſurpation of the other was only to be ſupported by force and oppreſſion. Nothing could be more eſſentially repugnant to the laws of Lycurgus than thoſe ambitious purſuits in which the Spartans were now abſorbed: indeed, ambition was ſo incongruous to their national character, and ſyſtem of government, that the republick, whenever it aſpired to conqueſt, muſt be on the brink of diſſolution. "In all our actions, ſays one of the "moſt celebrated politicians, let us endeavour to imi-"tate nature: as ſhe never produces large branches upon "ſmall ſtems, let not a little republick attempt the ſubver-"ſion of ſtates more powerful than her own. If, by the "ſingular

" ſingular favour of Providence, ſuch enterprizes are crown-
" ed with ſucceſs, experience ſoon convinces us, that a tree
" whoſe trunk is too weak to ſupport its branches, muſt be
" rent in pieces by the firſt blaſt of wind. This was exem-
" plified, continues he, in the fate of Lacedæmon, after
" the reduction of all the cities of Greece: no ſooner did
" Thebes appear in arms than her example was followed by
" the reſt of the ſtates, and the withered trunk was ſudden-
" ly ſtripped of all its branches." Poverty, it is true, ceaſ-
ed to be an obſtacle to the aggrandizement of Sparta, from the time Lyſander enriched his country with the ſpoils of the vanquiſhed, and levied regular tributes upon its allies. The republick was, by this means, in a ſituation to ſupport foreign wars, and undertake great deſigns. But, in giving the Lacedemonians riches, did Lyſander inſtruct them that their true uſe was to promote the glory of the republick? Did he not rather ſuffer the tide of corruption, that ever accompanies them, to overwhelm the laws and manners of Lycurgus, and prove an additional cauſe of its declenſion?

One very important obſervation relative to Sparta ought not to be omitted; which is, that the aſſiſtance of Perſia, and not their own proper ſtrength, impowered the Spartans to ſubdue the Athenians. Nor were they indebted for that aſſiſtance to Artaxerxes Mnemon, but to Cyrus his brother; whoſe ambitious deſigns they had favoured; and who, after an unſucceſsful attempt to ſeat himſelf on the throne of Perſia, was entirely defeated, and loſt his life in the field.

Deprived of the protection of a prince to whom ſhe owed her grandeur, Sparta was conſidered in the moſt odious light, by the Perſian court, whilſt Greece was contriving how to ſhake off her fetters. Few inſtances are to be met with, in hiſtory, of a more truly deplorable ſituation. I do not blame

the

the Spartans for falling a prey to calamity, but for not taking the moſt elegible methods to prevent it. They ought to have rendered Greece their beſt bulwark againſt the barbarians, by a diſplay of the duties of humanity in reſtoring to the cities their government and laws, and reſtraining their own ambition within its former bounds. Or, if this triumph over the paſſions was too ſublime for their attainment, they ſhould have courted the friendſhip of Artaxerxes, diſavowed their approbation of Cyrus and his Grecian auxiliaries, and particularly have applied themſelves to gain the Satrapes of Aſia-Minor to their intereſt.

The republick of Sparta, on the contrary, treated the Greeks with greater ſeverity than ever: and though the Perſian monarch extended his vengeance no farther than the Aſiatic colonies, ſhe picqued herſelf on a fooliſh project of generoſity in reſcuing them from ſlavery.

Ageſilaus no ſooner began to make a formidable appearance in Aſia, than Artaxerxes fitted out a conſiderable fleet, giving the command to Conon, an Athenian, who had taken refuge in his court. He alſo diſpatched Timocrates, the Rhodian, into Greece, to diſtribute large ſums of money amongſt the leading citizens of Thebes, Corinth, and Argos; theſe formed a powerful league, which ſo intimidated the Spartans that they recalled Ageſilaus. From that moment their empire ſhook to its very centre, and ſoon after the Thebans completed its ruin. Since the time the Spartans became maſters of Cadmæa and placed a garriſon there, the ſupreme authority in Thebes had been veſted in a ſmall body of the nobility. Hiſtorians tell us to what an exceſs they abuſed their power, and with what dexterity and courage Pelopidas exterminated them, and regained the citadel of Cadmæa, before the Lacedemonians had time to aſſiſt the garriſon.

This act of hoſtility was the prelude to ſeveral inconſiderable ſkirmiſhes, in which the Thebans had frequently the advantage. The conduct of Ageſilaus in this war, would lead one to conjecture, that the ſucceſs which attended him in Aſia was leſs to be attributed to his military capacity, than to the aſcendant ſo remarkable in the Grecian, over the Perſian arms; unleſs his advanced age had extinguiſhed that ardour, that activity, that intuition of which Xenophon has left us ſo animated a deſcription, far from undertaking any great or deciſive action, he is, not unreaſonably, reproached with making a progreſſive march through the Theban territories, in order to eſſay the courage of the inhabitants, and initiate them in the art of war: Polybius expreſſes a juſt contempt for the Theban government; and indeed that republick, decried though all Greece for the ſtupidity of her citizens, and her alliance with Xerxes, was alone indebted to the perſonal merit of Epaminondas and Pelopidas for the glory ſhe acquired.

There muſt have been a kind of natural competition between two men ſo equal in talents, had not a ſimilar equality in virtues united them in zeal for the publick good. Nurſed in the boſom of affluence, Pelopidas deſpiſed its allurements. Epaminondas feared the bounty of fortune ſhould interrupt his philoſophick poverty. The firſt, impetuous and enterprizing in war, maſter of every branch of military knowledge, held reputation leſs dear than his country! What a rare example! He reſigned the command to one whom he thought better qualified to immortalize the Thebans than himſelf. Epaminondas, on his ſide, ſeemed unconſcious of his ſuperior abilities. He had been reluctantly drawn from the ſchool of philoſophy to the government of a nation. In him, the penetration, courage, and prudence of Themiſtocles,

tocles, were blended with the virtues of Socrates.

Pelopidas gained a victory at Tegyra; a day, ſays Plutarch, that gave the world a ſpecimen of what was afterwards completed at Leuctra; where the arms of Lacedæmon were no longer found invincible, and her empire received its mortal blow. In that action Epaminondas diſplayed his amazing extent of genius; or, in other words, that combination of talents which conſtitutes the character of a finiſhed general. Nor is he leſs worthy of admiration as a politician, in his plan for preſerving to his country her lately-acquired ſuperiority. With a view of totally cruſhing the Lacedemonians, he placed two implacable enemies at their gates; by the re-eſtabliſhment of Meſſina [*k*] in her ancient rights; and building the city of Megalopolis. [*l*] His conduct was as upright and humane as that of the Spartans, and Athenians, had been cruel and tyrannical. Inſtead of razing the conquered cities, ſelling the inhabitants for ſlaves, or altering their laws, he treated them as allies. Orchomenæa, Phocidæa, Locrida, and Ætolia, experienced this proof of the clemency of Epaminondas.

As all the provinces of Greece bordered upon the ſea, their inhabitants, in conjunction with thoſe of the adjacent iſlands, and the Aſiatic colonies, were properly to be conſidered as one people. Epaminondas, therefore, juſtly concluded, that whatever republick confined its application to the acquirement of either naval, or military ſuperiority, without ſeeking to unite them, could only enjoy a

[*k*] Near three centuries were elapſed ſince the city of Megæra was deſtroyed by the Lacedemonians, who reduced one part of the natives to a ſtate of ſlavery, and baniſhed the other from Peloponneſus, under pain of death ſhould they return.

[*l*] Megalopolis was a ſtrong and powerful city, inhabited by a colony of Arcadian emigrants, till then diſperſed in ſmall hamlets; who by this union were capacitated to impoſe laws on Lacedæmon, and revenge the injuries their anceſtors received from that republick.

precarious degree of power. From this concluſion, he was deſirous the Thebans ſhould have a formidable marine. He repreſented to them, that in occupying the place and adopting the politicks of Lacedæmon, they would ſoon find another Athens, proud of her maritime ſtrength, ſtart up, perhaps, to their deſtruction; or, at beſt, victory over ſuch an enemy muſt always be dearly bought. In a word, the deſigns and enterprizes of Epaminondas flowed from one ſource, *ſupreme dominion*, the principle and end of all his actions.

The Spartans, defeated at Mantinea, were deſtitute of reſources, and loſt to all hopes of recovering the blow. This engagement had compleated the glory of the victorious Thebans, but Epaminondas was killed, and at that inſtant, ſays Xenophon, his army believed itſelf vanquiſhed: the infantry became motionleſs, and the cavalry, ready to ſeize the flying enemy, checked the ardour of purſuit. All that remained to Thebes was a reputation ſhe was incapable of ſupporting; her power fell with the great man who raiſed, and maintained, but did not live to eſtabliſh it on a ſolid foundation.

Though the Thebans were attached to their own cuſtoms with an invincible obſtinacy, that prevented them from comprehending the importance of the reformation projected by Epaminondas, they had ſo little diſcernment as to attribute their late victories to their own conduct, and fancy it eaſy to preſerve their acquired empire; a vain conceit, that accelerated their ruin, by impelling them to undertake enterprizes above their abilities. "Athens is in a ſtate of humiliation, ſaid "Jaſon, the tyrant of Pheres, to the Theſſalians; the gran-"deur of Sparta is no more. The Theban glory is founded "on their ruins, but I foreſee its declenſion. Conſider then, "in your turn, how to poſſeſs yourſelves of that reputation "which they are incapable of preſerving."

There

There is no ſtronger proof how much the conquerors of Sparta were inferior to their fortune, than this circumſtance, related by Xenophon. The evening, ſays this judicious writer, that Epaminondas gained the battle of Leuctra, he was in expectation of an attack from ſome of the Bœotian cities, who were ripe for revolt; ſo that Thebes, in the very moment ſhe graſped the ſceptre of Greece, was a prey to inteſtine diviſions.

END OF BOOK II.

OBSERVATIONS

A SUMMARY OF BOOK III.

SITUATION *of Athens, Sparta, and other ſtates of Greece, at the acceſſion of Philip to the throne of Macedon. Of that monarch's political ſyſtem.—Of Demoſthenes, and Phocion.—Account of Perſia at the commencement of the war with Alexander.—Reflections on the conduct, and depravity of that hero.*

SO long as the Athenians were ſupported by allies whoſe taxation contributed towards the expence of their military expeditions, and indulged their taſte for indolence, luxury, and pleaſure, they continued inſenſible to the dangerous conſequences of that corruption introduced by Pericles, in gratifying the indigent part of the citizens with ſalaries to enable them to frequent the publick ſpectacles, and courts of judicature. But when their dominion became circumſcribed to Attica alone, it ſeemed a neceſſary alternative, either that the whole revenues of the ſtate ſhould be expended in theſe kind of donatives, or that the populace, whoſe ſole property they were, ſhould make a noble renunciation of them, and, reaſſuming their ancient manners, obey the inſtitutions of Solon, and ſeek in labour and the fatigue of induſtry, the means of ſubſiſtence.

This was an effort of ſelf-denying reſolution, impoſſible to be expected from a people intoxicated, even to madneſs, with

with a paſſion for publick feaſts and ſhews: whom their late reverſe of fortune had ſunk in deſpair; and in whom the love of glory, and of their country ſeemed annihilated. The wealthy part of the community, and the magiſtrates, dreaded that, by endeavouring to rouze the people from their lethargy, and perſuading them to relieve the republick from this oppreſſive burthen, they might be tempted to a renewal of their claim to the abolition of debts, and a diviſion of lands. Sacrificing, therefore, publick good to private avarice, they were indefatigable in deviſing means of perpetuating this abuſe of government. Under theſe circumſtances Eubulus got a decree paſſed, by which the funds deſtined for military operations, were appropriated to the ſupport of publick ſpectacles: of which decree whoever, only, propoſed a revocation, was to be put to death.

From this period degeneracy of manners became faſhionable in Athens; merit of every ſpecies was degraded; military talents, as well as civil virtues, were no longer held in eſtimation; whilſt poets, muſicians, comedians, and decorators of the theatre, filled the departments of ſtate.

"Your Panathénæa's, and Dyoniſia's, ſays Demoſthenes "to his fellow citizens, are always celebrated with aſto- "niſhing magnificence. You calculate your buſineſs with "the utmoſt regularity, ſurmount every difficulty with eaſe, "that nothing may interrupt the feſtivity of the deſtined "day! Is a new theatrical piece to be exhibited? the diſpo- "ſition of the parts is an affair which you diſcuſs with eager "attention! nor is any perſon ſo ignorant as to be uninform- "ed of the names of thoſe citizens ſelected by each tribe to "preſide at muſical, or athletic entertainments! But is the "publick ſafety the point in agitation? Is an enemy to be "oppoſed, who openly threatens your liberty? all men are inattentive!

" inattentive! political debates are unintereſting and dull! " Ye are incapable of penetrating into futurity! and if you " are, with reluctance, prevailed upon to paſs a decree, it is " only executed in part, and that too late. "

Whilſt national poverty wrought this ſcandalous depravity in the morals of the Athenians, and confirmed their declenſion, wealth, introduced by Lyſander into Sparta, prepared as deplorable a revolution in the laws of Lycurgus. " It " was decreed, ſays Plutarch, by the Spartans, that money " ſhould be appropriated, ſolely, to exigencies of ſtate; and " that thoſe citizens convicted of having gold or ſilver coin " in their poſſeſſion ſhould be puniſhed with death. But, " adds the hiſtorian, very ſagaciouſly, how could this re- " publick flatter itſelf that individuals would deſpiſe money " when the publick revered it? " Of what availment to lock and bar the doors of their houſes againſt the admiſſion of riches, when the avenues to their hearts were open to avarice! Money, in a ſhort time, inſinuated itſelf from the publick treaſury into private habitations: an outward appearance of their ancient auſterity ſtill ſubſiſted, but within all was venal corruption. The citizens, at firſt, amaſſed wealth without daring to enjoy it, waiting with impatience for the moment when the number of the guilty, by braving and ſubverting the laws, might licence their oſtentatious parade.

Luxury, in its firſt approaches feeble and timid, now made gigantic ſtrides towards enforcing reſpect. It would convey a very inadequate idea of the diſorders produced in Sparta from the introduction of venality, were we to compare them with the effects of the ſame cauſe in other countries. The Lacedemonian ruſticity could, only by ſlow and difficult gradations, accommodate itſelf to that elegant refinement in pleaſure, which ſoftens the heart, and debaſes the

the morals. Beſides, that the inſtitutions of Lycurgus could not be immediately undermined by riches, there were ſome which continued immutable; ſo that his republick, even in its degenerate ſtate, preſented a ſpectacle worthy the admiration of the Greeks, had not their attention been engroſſed by conſidering the virtues it had abandoned more than thoſe it retained.

The law promulgated by Epitadius, one of the Ephori, which gave permiſſion to ſell eſtates, or diſpoſe of them by will, put the finiſhing ſtroke to ſanctity of manners in Lacedæmon. When once a door was opened to trafficking away inheritances, avarice ſoon became predominant. A citizen, deſpoiled of his patrimony, found himſelf impelled by more preſſing conſiderations than the duties he owed to ſociety; he courted the favours of Fortune; wealth, not probity, was now the object of diſtinction. The vices of the great became neceſſary to the ſubſiſtance of the multitude; and thoſe hands deſtined by Lycurgus to wield the ſword and lance, and manage the buckler, were debaſed in uſing the implements of arts which luxury introduced into Laconia.

Such was the ſituation of theſe celebrated republicks, a ſhort time after the death of Epaminondas; nor can it be doubted that their declenſion paved the way to the total ruin of Greece, if we diſcriminately conſider the changes conſequent to the Peloponneſian war, in the politicks, intereſts, and manners of that country.

Diodorus obſerves, that by the treaty of peace concluded between Sparta and Athens, in the tenth year of the war, they reciprocally ſacrificed to an ill-judged avidity the intereſts of their allies. Ignorant that ambition ſhould be concealed, to be rendered ſucceſsful, they agreed to keep poſſeſſion of the conquered towns; reſerving (by an expreſs

clauſe) a liberty of changing in concert any articles of this convention, or of adding new ones occaſionally, as the exigencies of affairs might require. Nothing more was wanting, adds the ſame hiſtorian, to kindle ſuſpicions amongſt the principal republicks of Greece. They apprehended leſt the power of Sparta and Athens, ſo long employed in the deſtruction of each other, ſhould, when united, make a partition of the reſt of Greece.

However unreaſonable theſe apprehenſions may appear, ambaſſadors were immediately diſpatched from all parties, to negotiate preliminaries of a league againſt the two ſtates accuſed of aſpiring to tyranny. Argos, Thebes, Corinth, and Elis were the chief in this congreſs. It muſt be confeſſed that theſe cities, accuſtomed to a ſubordinate part, were ill calculated for that elevation in politicks, neceſſary to conduct a confederacy — and that the want of a leader of ſuperior genius to regulate it, rendered the undertaking abortive; yet, by their example, they taught the other Grecian republicks to throw off the ſhackles of ſubordination, and from that moment Sparta, and Athens loſt the ſplendour of authority. This commencement of anarchy augmented in proportion as the ſtrength of the Lacedemonians was exhauſted, and their ſituation leſs reſpectable; from the time victory declared for the Thebans, there was not a city whoſe emulation was not excited to aſpire at an equal ſhare of glory; and that did not flatter itſelf with being able, by a more ſagacious conduct, to fix the foundations of empire on a firmer baſis. This is what Demoſthenes reproached them with, in lamenting that the ſole effect of his rhetorick had been to raiſe an ambitious ſpirit in the neighbouring ſtates, who under colour of protecting the liberties of Greece, ſought in fact only how to oppreſs them. " The Greeks themſelves,

" ſaid

" ſaid he, are actually the greateſt enemies of their country!
" Argos, Thebes, Corinth, Lacedæmonia, Arcadia, At-
" tica, every republick (I except none) has a ſeperate
" intereſt!"

Nor was ſelfiſh ambition the only vice to which Greece was a prey. Thucydides tells us, that in the firſt year of the Peloponneſian war, the growth of envy and avarice gave birth to a multiplicity of diviſions amongſt the Corcyreans. Under the pretext of defending the rights of the people, and employing none but men of integrity in the adminiſtration, the magiſtrates, whoſe real conſideration was their own peculiar emolument, formed parties in the city, which ſoon degenerated in factions, impoſſible to be conciliated; and whoſe inveteracy was ſtill more embittered by the machinations of Sparta, and Athens. One republick favouring the pretenſions of the people, the other thoſe of the nobles: whilſt both ſides availed themſelves of the offered protection, in exerting their ſtrongeſt efforts to cruſh each other.

This diſeaſe in the Corcyrean conſtitution, continues Thucydides, communicated its infection through Greece with wonderful rapidity. That alienation of confidence between the nobles, the rich, and the commonalty, which owed its origin to the extirpation of monarchical government, became more apparent under the encouragement of the emiſſaries of Sparta and Athens, who practiſed the ſame political artifices in every city, that had fomented the diviſions in Corcyra. Exorbitant demands were made, and ſupported with obſtinacy. Tumultuous clamour was the only reply of the aggreſſor to the arguments of his adverſary; who, reduced to deſpair, in his turn, broke into furious tranſports. The citizens came armed into the publick aſſemblies, and proceeded to the moſt violent extremities; becauſe none of

the factions were ſatisfied with an extenſion of power, unleſs quickened with the gratification of revenge for injuries remembered. Vices ſuddenly aſſumed the name of virtues. Rage was called courage, and knavery prudence; whilſt, on the contrary, the wiſe man was branded with the appellation of coward. The forward boaſter became a zealous friend; and good policy conſiſted leſs in the repulſion of evil than in committing it undetected. No man was permitted, to remain neutral, and preſerve his integrity untainted, in a country where the moſt ſacred oaths were perverted into ſnares to entangle credulity. In a word, according to the report of the ſame hiſtorian, if there could be any conſolatory circumſtances in ſuch a ſituation, they reſulted from the advantage that men of the dulleſt intellects and beſt hearts ſometimes had; who, diſtruſting their acknowledged incapacity, had recourſe to ſudden and violent remedies, whilſt their enemies, conſcious of ſuperior abilities, were the dupes of their own ſubtile intrigues and ſtratagems. Theſe calamities encreaſed, ſays Diodorus, after the decline of the Thebans from that point of elevation in which Epaminondas had placed them. Every day produced inſtances in one or other of the Grecian ſtates, of the baniſhment of citizens: theſe proſcribed perſons wandered from territory to territory, ſtirring up enemies to their country. In their moſt deſpairing moments they were often ſuddenly recalled by the influence of a faction that wanted their aſſiſtance in ſeizing the reins of government, which ſome new revolution ſoon ſnatched from their hands.

Diſtracted by a contrariety of intereſts, each republick was a perfect chaos! Some relative to publick happineſs, others to the private advantage of ambitious citizens. The oppreſſed conſidered only how to obtain relief; every cabal had its ſeperate

ſeperate view; and theſe diſtinct intereſts multiplying to infinity, interſected, interrupted, and overturned each others ſyſtem alternately. To day a republick regards you as an ally; to morrow treats you as her inveterate foe. Your partiſans are baniſhed or maſſacred, whilſt the contending faction has already eſtabliſhed its authority on principles diametrically oppoſite.

Surrounded by obſtacles ſo innumerable, the wiſeſt found it impoſſible to propoſe any permanent object of purſuit, or conduct the publick affairs on any ſettled plan. No city had the leaſt pretenſions to a ſuperiority of character, that might prevail with the reſt to aſſociate under the ſame government, and by a reunion of their ſcattered forces, enable them to reſiſt the invaſion of a foreign enemy.

Fortunately for Greece, the Perſians had laid aſide the intention of extending their empire on that ſide of Europe. The Thracians and Illyrians were employed in oppoſing their ancient enemies; and whoever had then caſt their eyes towards Macedon, would never have believed they beheld the power that was to forge chains for the captivity of Greece.

This little kingdom had hitherto made an inconſiderable figure, and was at that time very unfortunately circumſtanced. Amyntas, the father of Philip, a weak prince, depreſſed by the arms of the Illyrians, and expecting to be robbed of his crown, could diſcern no better method of revenging his wrongs, and raiſing up enemies to his conquerors, than by ceding his kingdom to the Olynthians. After experiencing the moſt cruel reverſe of fortune, he was re-eſtabliſhed upon his throne by the Theſſalians, and continued to reign with the timid irreſolution of a monarch who has ſeen himſelf on the brink of ruin, and owed his ſafety to foreign

reign aſſiſtance. Amyntas was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon, Alexander, who was only the ſhadow of a king. His ſubjects reluctantly yielded obedience to a ſovereign, ignorant how to command: defeated by the Illyrians; part of Macedonia in rebellion; and almoſt all his territories ravaged by the enemy, death releaſed him from his troubles.

His ſucceſſors were ſtill more unworthy of their rank. Perdiccas was deſtitute of every talent neceſſary to acquire reſpect from a contented and ſubmiſſive people, even in the happieſt times. Ptolomy, a natural ſon of Amyntas, had ſeized on one of the Macedonian provinces, fortified, and rendered himſelf independant. And Pauſanias, a prince of the royal family, under ſentence of baniſhment, took advantage of the publick commotions, to return to his country, and put himſelf at the head of a conſiderable body of male-contents; men of obſcure birth and turbulent ſpirit, ſuch as are the authors, and inſtruments in moſt revolutions. Perdiccas was killed in a battle againſt the Illyrians; and ſo peculiarly unhappy was the ſituation of Macedon, that even this event was regretted as an additional calamity in placing the crown upon the head of an infant.

Pauſanias, now, openly aſpired to the throne; and Argeas, another prince of the blood royal, actuated by equal ambition, collected an army to oppoſe his rival. Some adjacent powers, availing themſelves of theſe domeſtick diſſenſions, had already penetrated into the heart of the country, when Philip, then a hoſtage in Thrace, made his eſcape, and flew to the aſſiſtance of the kingdom of his anceſtors. No ſooner, ſay the hiſtorians, did he appear in Macedon, than his influence was immediately felt. He was appointed regent during the minority of the young Amyntas, his nephew; but the people, ſoon ſenſible how highly it imported them

them to have ſuch a ruler as Philip, decreed him the crown.

Yet, notwithſtanding the unhappy ſituation of Macedon, her misfortunes were not, like thoſe of Greece, irremediable. A free people, once corrupted, becomes familiar with, and then fond of vice. And it ſeldom happens that a private citizen has courage to contend with the paſſions, prejudices, and cuſtoms which reign with imperious dominion in the breaſts of an indocile multitude; or credit enough with his countrymen to perſuade them to that voluntary ſacrifice of their darling vices, which can alone replace them in their original point of greatneſs. But if the reformation of a ſingle republick is to be conſidered as an almoſt impracticable attempt, what muſt the general reformation of Greece have been, where every city was a diſtinct republick? Hiſtory affords very few examples of free nations ſubmitting the errors and abuſes of government to the inſpection and amendment of a legiſlator! could it then be expected an event ſo rare in the world ſhould be common in Greece? Or, if ſuch a change had been wrought in one or two ſtates, of how ſmall utility muſt it have been to the conſtitution of the whole, whoſe confirmed depravity would have opened to their enemies numberleſs opportunities of accompliſhing their deſtruction?

Monarchies are, on the contrary, replete with theſe kind of revolutions, ſo infrequent in commonwealths. The citizen, there, does not conſider himſelf entitled to make the laws which are to direct his conduct; and is familiarized to the reception and obedience of whatever impreſſions his ſovereign chuſes to impoſe. A great prince has it always in his power to form a new people: his ſubjects imperceptibly ſhake off their inactivity, abandon their vices, and aſſume a different character from the virtue they are ambitious to imitate. The

The talents which nature had beſtowed on Philip had been carefully cultivated by a good education, and accompanied with virtues imbibed in the adverſe ſchool of family misfortunes. Nurtured in a republick where the people conſtituted the legiſlature, he ſaw nothing of that haughty, or abject adulation which beſets the avenues of a court; intoxicating princes with the phantom of power, and flattering them into a belief that they are ſupremely great by birth, and incapable of receiving additional luſtre. Accuſtomed to the refinements of addreſs, by which the magiſtrates of a democracy guide the paſſions of the multitude in acknowledging its authority, he preſerved upon a throne that moderation, that patience, that reſpect for individuals, which will ever raiſe a prince above the laws, and inveſt him with unbounded power.

A diſcriminate review of the conduct of Philip is a fertile field of inſtruction. A miniſter can recommend no precepts of government to his maſter's obſervation but what may be exemplified from his life: and every monarch who acts upon the ſame principles, will never fail of the ſame ſucceſs. Soldiers to whom flight is become familiar, muſt be trained to victory by delicate flattery. In beſtowing praiſe and eſteem, hitherto unmerited, Philip inſpired his troops with confidence, and taught them to reverence themſelves. Formed in the camp of Epaminondas, he tranſported into Macedon the martial diſcipline which the Thebans owed to that great man; and Philip himſelf invented the *Phalanæ*; that admirable military diſpoſition, which appeared ſo formidable to Paulus Emilius, at a time when its original force [*a*] was much

[*a*] The conſtruction of the *Phalanæ* (according to Polybius) was a body of ſixteen thouſand men, formed into a ſquare ſixteen deep, when the Romans firſt carried their arms into Macedon. It was invincible, continues this author, *Book* 17.

much weakened by attempts to improve it. If this prince mingles in the ranks with the common ſoldiers, and by his example teaches them to encounter danger; he firſt aſſayed their courage as a *general*, is unwilling to expoſe it, and avoids to conquer by force of arms thoſe difficulties that are to be ſurmounted by prudence. He ſtirs up Argeas to rebellion, a man of reſtleſs ambition, who is only to be deſtroyed in the field — But it is by negotiating he ſeeks to ruin Pauſanias. — Whilſt the influence of money, and promiſes, detaches the Thracians from the intereſt of this rebel, he flatters, deludes with hopes, and retains him in inaction, till his collected forces are ready for the attack.

Publick tranquillity is no ſooner reſtored, than Philip's whole attention is applied to the reformation of domeſtick irregularities. Fearing to engage till he is ſure of ſucceſs,

N he

17. *chap.* 3. whilſt it continued united, but it ſeldom happened that a body which occupied the ſpace of twenty ſtadia, or a league, found a proper field for action. The intervention of a hill, a ditch, a hedge, a river, or moraſs, deſtroyed its arrangement, and afforded eaſy opportunities to the enemy to diſorder its ranks, by penetrating into thoſe openings, the unavoidable conſequence of inequality of ground, whilſt the ſoldier could make no evolutions, nor come to a cloſe engagement. Suppoſing it even unmoleſted by foreign obſtacles, there is hardly a poſſibility but that the *Phalanx*, in its march, muſt ſuffer ſome fluctuation from its own movements. And either in a purſuit, or retreat, it entirely loſt the advantage of figure. From theſe remarks of the hiſtorian, we are led to conclude that the capital defect in the *Phalanx* was its enormous conſtruction; and that the ſucceſſors of Philip were injudicious in altering the original inſtitution, from ſix or ſeven thouſand men to more than double that number. The more ſuch a maſs was augmented the more muſt it be embarraſſed in the choice of ground; and its marches muſt be ſlow, hazardous, and interrupted. Polybius likewiſe draws a parallel between the Macedonian manœuvres, and thoſe of the Romans; giving the latter the preference. It muſt, notwithſtanding, be allowed, that at that particular juncture when Philip inſtituted the *Phalanx* it was the happieſt diſpoſition that could have been conceived. The Roman arrangement of troops in three lines, and in ſmall platoons with intervals between, is only proper for well diſciplined ſoldiers, accuſtomed to brave danger. But this was far from being the caſe with the Macedonians, when Philip aſcended the throne. The only plan to enſure ſucceſs was ſuch a one as in its nature inſpired confidence, and required little experience in the management or knowledge of arms.

he feigns ignorance of vices he cannot reſtrain, and, till he has ſecured the certainty of obedience, avoids to enforce the re-eſtabliſhment of order. When he inſtitutes new laws, the minds of his ſubjects are already prepared for their obſervance. Impelling the wheels of government with accumulated force, all things in Macedonia tend to action and utility. Such was the progreſs of an ambitious mind extenſively occupied in ſubduing the ſtrong-rooted paſſions and vices of his countrymen, before he indulges the, otherwiſe, unavailing expectation, of conquering his neighbours.

Philip had ſcarcely enjoyed a triumph over his moſt ſtubborn enemies, I mean the indolence of his people, their timidity, and total indifference to publick good, when he was expoſed to the hazard of ſplitting on a very dangerous rock. This prince had viſited the principal republicks of Greece; and, in his retired hours, ſtudied their various genius, intereſts, ſtrength, and reſources. He had been a ſpectator of the fall of the Spartan, and of the declenſion of the Theban power; had a thorough knowledge of that depravity of manners already deſcribed, and, in a word, that Greece was running voluntarily into the ſhackles of ſlavery, and waited only the ſummons of a maſter. Whoever had taken advantage of theſe interior diviſions to offer aſſiſtance, muſt have been ſure of *allies*. What ſanguine expectations muſt ſuch a ſoul as Philip's conceive from the weakneſs of a nation, diſtracted with ſuch a multiplicity of factions! Any other prince had probably ceded to the firſt inſtigations of ambition, and fallen a ſacrifice to his impetuoſity.

Let me be permitted to obſerve, that hiſtory is filled with numerous examples of ſtates either deſtroyed, or confined within the narrow ſphere of mediocrity, by eagerly graſping the firſt opportunities of aggrandizement that fortune preſented.

ſented. Philip knew that to render ſucceſs permanent, there was a regular gradation to be obſerved; that the reduction of Greece, conſidered as a firſt object, was a uſeleſs and hazardous attempt, whereas in making it a ſecond, the road became level, preceding advantages more confirmed, and future ones aſcertained. Probably, had this monarch made an immediate irruption into Greece, the ancient enemies of Macedonia would as immediately have recommenced hoſtilities. Peonians, Illyrians, Thracians, would have been ſo many additional auxiliaries to the Greeks; and Philip muſt have been conſtrained to ſuſpend his operations in one place, in order to march to another, and conſequently his forces had been divided, and inceſſantly haraſſed by alternate progreſſions from the Greeks to the barbarians; unable to finiſh any enterprize, whilſt the obſtacles that oppoſed his arms, continually encreaſing, would have rendered it impoſſible to ſubdue the combined ſtrength of enemies, who might with eaſe have been ſeperately overcome.

The refined policy of Philip in regard to Argeas and Pauſanias, made it evident he would be cautious of creating new adverſaries before the old were defeated. The firſt direction of his forces was againſt the Peonians; he was victorious; and then ſucceſſively attacked the Illyrians and Thracians, recovering, by degrees, the conquered places taken from Macedonia. He at the ſame time deſtroyed the principal fortreſſes erected on the frontiers; nor was it till after the barbarians were reduced to ſuch a ſtate of humiliation as prevented every apprehenſion of danger, that Philip attempted to render himſelf the conqueror of Greece.

The reaſon why moſt projects are unſucceſsful, is an impatient deſire of executing them the moment they are conceived: conſequently the intermediate ſteps are haſtily concerted. Eager to plan the neceſſary operations, men diſ-

cern the obſtacles that oppoſe their wiſhes indiſtinctly, through the falſe medium of whatever paſſion impels them. Inſtead of ſtudying to prevent their meaſures from being diſconcerted, their imagination is bounded to a ſearch of remedies after the event has happened; they fancy reſiſtance unavailing, and from that moment fortune, not intelligence, decides the cataſtrophe. Moſt ſtates have very vague and indeterminate ideas of what conſtitutes their true grandeur. A power deficient in principle, deſtitute of allies, odious to its neighbours, irreſolute where to begin an attack, muſt conſequently be incapable of collecting its views into one point of termination, of making a judicious arrangement of the progreſs of its arms; or of enjoying the natural advantages of its ſituation. Such a power will always have enemies to encounter, whoſe ſtrength is undiminiſhed.

Philip, great and comprehenſive in all things, meditated with deliberate attention his enterprize againſt Greece, and, before he diſcovered his intention, was aſſiduous in augmenting their animoſities. With this view he flattered the pride of one republick, promiſed protection to another, courted the alliance of a third; refuſed, granted, or withdrew aſſiſtance, as moſt conformable to his intereſt; under pretext that his finances were exhauſted in the war with the barbarians, and that he wanted to build palaces, and adorn them with the moſt exquiſite productions of art, he borrowed conſiderable ſums of money at extraordinary intereſt, of all the ſtates of Greece: but the true object of his policy was to attach the opulent citizens to his party, by ſecuring their wealth in his treaſury. Thus he ſucceeded in opening a new branch of commerce in Greece, the prelude to a new ſpecies of corruption: which, under an appearance of ſatisfying the demands of his creditors, created him ſo many penſioners

ſioners. In a word, he multiplied the vices of the Greeks as a counterbalance to their military ſtrength.

Inſtructed by the example of Athens and Sparta, whoſe tyrannical ambition deſtroyed each other, Philip, in projecting the conqueſt of Greece, ſought to ſtimulate the rage of the inhabitants againſt each other, ſeeming to act only as their inſtrument. Sometimes he gained the affections of a people by becoming their benefactor; as was the caſe of the Theſſalians, whom he delivered from their tyrants, and reſtored to the privilege of a ſeat in the council of Amphictyons. At other times, he ſeemed to execute with regret the very meaſures he himſelf inſpired. He ſuffers himſelf to be entreated before he carries his arms into any Grecian province: Thus he enters Peloponneſus only at the interceſſion of Meſſena and Megalopolis, who complained of the encroachments of the Lacedemonians. Is he ſenſible of the importance of getting poſſeſſion of a city, inſtead of endeavouring to irritate the citizens, he makes offers of friendſhip, and indulges the gratification of his ambition in embroiling it with ſome neighbouring power. No ſooner doth ſuch an unfortunate republick fall into the ſnare, than playing off all his political engines to bring about a rupture, or feigning to defend the cauſe of the oppreſſed, he deſtroys his enemy without incurring the ſlighteſt ſhadow of ſuſpicion. The Olyntheans were the dupes of theſe artifices, when relying on the protection of Macedon, they incurred the diſpleaſure of the Potideans.

Impenetrable to vulgar obſervations, Philip poſſeſſed, in a moſt eminent degree, the art of varying his conduct, without varying his principles. Negotiations, alliances, treaties, peace, hoſtilities, retreats, and inaction, all had their turn; and all tended to the accompliſhment of that end from which they

they appeared moſt remote. Skilful in repreſenting objects in new lights, in awakening fears, hopes, and ſuſpicions; in confounding, or ſeparating the ideas of men, his enemies are always ambitious, his allies ungrateful, whilſt he alone reaps the advantage of wars in which he engaged as an auxiliary.

The maſter ſtroke of Philip to arrive at the ſovereignty of Greece, was an embaſſy ſent from Thebes, to ſolicit him to revenge the injuries done to the temple of Delphos, and the rights of the Amphictyonic body, by the ſacrilege of the Phoceans. Beſides an acquiſition of glory in terminating a war that had laſted ten years, the privilege of ſending a deputy to the council, forfeited by the vanquiſhed, was perpetually annexed to Macedon; and that crown ſhared likewiſe with Beotia and Theſſaly the prerogative of preſiding at the Pythian games, of which the Corinthians were deprived, as a puniſhment for aſſiſting the Phoceans.

However inconſiderable in themſelves theſe advantages might be, they changed their very nature in the hands of Philip. The Pythian games, like other ſolemn meetings, were regarded, it is true, as publick feſtivals, and ſpectacles of ſmall utility; but when the minds of the Greeks were become frivolous enough to make them eſſential to happineſs, it was not a matter of indifference to a prince ſo penetrating as Philip to preſide over them, and be in a manner the arbiter of their pleaſures. The council of Amphictyons had loſt all its authority ſince the alterations in the original ſyſtem of government. The people, accuſtomed to conſult their ambition only, and to appeal to their own aſſemblies for the juſtification of any acts of violence they choſe to commit, no longer carried complaints before the general council; and it was only in points where religion was intereſted, that the leaſt

leaſt veneration was paid to its decrees.

Notwithſtanding this degradation of honour, Philip acquired many advantages by mingling in their debates. He ceaſed to be conſidered as a ſtranger; he could, without incurring ſuſpicion, enter more intimately into their affairs; and aſſiſt, in ſome degree, the councils of a people whoſe liberties he was ſecretly undermining.

Nor did he find the difficulties inſuperable to gain an aſcendancy over a body of men who had long been ſuſceptible to the impreſſion of foreign influence; yet, in order to render this council a more uſeful inſtrument to his ambition, he endeavoured to revive its dignity, and, without ceaſing to direct all its motions, reſtored the greater part of its ancient privileges. Men of real religion, as well as the prieſts, and devotees of the temple of Delphos, already began to reſound the reſpect and zeal of Philip for the honour of the Gods: his penſioners magnified his juſtice and moderation, ſo that the reſtoration of the golden age was no longer a controvertible point in Greece. Her citizens, wearied with domeſtick feuds, flattered their imaginations with the proſpect of uninterrupted tranquillity; whilſt the ſeditious intriguing heads of factions, congratulated themſelves in ſecret on the reputation they had acquired their protector, foreſeeing an approaching revolution, and by extravagant encomiums contributing to the deluſion of the multitude. In a word, ſuch was, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, the infatuation of the Greeks in favour of Philip, that even Demoſthenes, his greateſt enemy, ſuddenly changed his ſtyle. Inſtead of impelling the Athenians into a war by the thunder of his eloquence, peace was now the theme of his orations; he laboured to perſuade them to acknowledge the new dignity of Philip, in the decree that admitted him a member of the council of Amphictyons. This

This orator, ſingle and unſupported, had unveiled the ambitious projects of Philip to the eyes of the people; and uſed every effort to rekindle their military ardour. Had it been in the power of mortal eloquence to inſpire the Athenians with vigour, awaken their priſtine courage, and cement their divided intereſts, it muſt have been that of Demoſthenes; the fire of whoſe orations ſtill agitate and inflame the paſſions of the reader! But he ſpoke to the deaf, and, thanks to the more eloquent liberality of Philip, when the orator declaimed with vehemence on the neceſſity of levying troops, and equipping galleys, a thouſand voices cried out "Peace is the greateſt of all bleſſings." Demoſthenes expatiated on the love of glory — of our country — of independency — when thoſe paſſions had no longer any exiſtence! The Macedonian penſioners, on the contrary, worked upon, and intereſted the ſloth, avarice, and luxury of the Athenians! So that this republick, rooted in indolence, was incapable of exciting the emulation of Greece by an example of ſpirit and reſolution.

But was the taſk more eaſy for Philip to conquer Greece? to comprehend exactly the ſituation of the different ſtates, to trace the implacability of their averſions, the diverſity of their intereſts, and that ſpirit of ambition which inceſſantly armed them againſt each other, than for Demoſthenes to unite them in one general confederacy againſt Macedon; a plan formerly ſo ſucceſsful in the Perſian war? Let us ſee what Polybius ſays on the ſubject: "However admirable (he begins) the conduct of Demoſthenes may in many inſtances appear, he certainly ſeems inexcuſable in ſtigmatizing with the infamous appellation of traitors, the moſt honourable citizens of thoſe republicks that were attached to Philip." Every one of theſe magiſtrates, whoſe reputation

" putation Demoſthenes endeavours to ſully, might eaſily " have juſtified a proceeding which either augmented the " ſtrength and power of their reſpective republicks, or pre- " vented their ruin. If the inhabitants of Meſſenæ and " Arcadia apprehended their intereſts to be diſſimilar with " thoſe of Athens—If they preferred imploring the protecti- " on of Philip, to ſuffering themſelves to be enſlaved by " the Lacedemonians — If they neglected to guard againſt " remote evils, and turned their application to the removal " of preſent ones — ought Demoſthenes to brand it as a " crime? This orator was greatly deceived if he fancied " that the intereſts of Athens would be conſidered by the " reſt of Greece as neceſſarily interwoven with their own."

Not to be too ſevere in our ſtrictures on that part of the conduct of Demoſthenes which diſcovers an inattention to the change in the political ſyſtem of Greece, and his attachment to maxims no longer underſtood, inſtead of adopting new ones, better calculated to the diſpoſition of the times, an error too common in ſtateſmen, what excuſe can be made for his treatment of the magiſtrates of [b] Meſſenæ, Megalopolis, Argos, Thebes? The injurious reflections he loaded them with, far from anſwering his purpoſe, could only create enemies to the Athenians, and partiſans to Philip. After ſuch evident proofs of imbecility, irreſolution, and indolence in his fellow citizens, and after knowing from experience the inutility of wearying Greece with embaſſies, why did he not vary his meaſures? muſt not the politician and the citizen appear deſpicable in our eyes, at the very moment the orator excites our admiration?

[b] Polybius accuſes Demoſthenes with having been guilty of the moſt atrocious abuſe to Lercydas, Hieronymus, and Eucompidas, citizens of Arcadia: Neon and Thraſylogue of Meſſenæ: Myrtis, Teledamus, and Mnaſias of Argos: Daogus, and Cineas of Theſſaly: Theogelon, and Timolas of Thebes, &c.

As a counterpoiſe to the fortune of Philip, Demoſthenes ventured to adviſe the Athenians to raiſe a body of two thouſand foot, and two hundred horſe, of which a fourth part were to be citizens; and to put a few light armed veſſels in commiſſion. " I am moderate in my demand, ſaid " he, becauſe our preſent ſituation does not admit of an " armament capable of attacking Philip in the open field. " What then could be his deſign? " We ought, continues " he, to confine ourſelves to ſudden ſallies where the enemy " is unprepared, " A ſtrange method of conducting a war under ſuch circumſtances! Surely a ſmall ſhare of underſtanding might have diſcerned the folly of a proceeding, which, inſtead of invigorating the courage of the Athenians, could not fail to render them ridiculous, by an impotent raſhneſs. Far from impoſing on an enemy, of whoſe ſuperiority it was a tacit acknowledgment, it muſt only irritate, and from an impulſe of revenge, accelerate the ruin of his country! Polybius alſo reproaches Demoſthenes with being the ſlave of inconſiderate wrath, and with want of foreſight. " The Athenians, (ſays the hiſtorian) ceding at laſt to the " ſolicitations of their orator, made an obſtinate reſiſtance " at Cheronæa, were defeated, and owed the preſervation " of their houſes, their temples, and the freedom of their " city, to the clemency of the conqueror. "

I am better pleaſed with the admirable good ſenſe of Phocion, who was as great a *general*, as Demoſthenes was an unſkilful *ſoldier*. He viſited all his fellow-citizens to perſuade them ſeparately of the ſuperior advantages to be derived from peace, even though the continuance of a war might inveſt them with the firſt offices in the republick. " In my opi- " nion, ſaid he, one day to the Athenians, you either ought " to exert the moſt vigorous efforts for the recovery of the

" palm

" palm of glory, or endeavour to deſerve the amity of " thoſe who have wreſted it from you! Do not complain " of the treachery of your allies, but of your own indolence " which juſtifies all calumny. Complain of the rapine of " your commanders that impels the very ſtates to oppoſe " you, whoſe ruin is involved in yours. " I will vote for war, ſaid he another time, when our citizens underſtand the duty of ſoldiers; when I ſee the young nobility ſupport their rank with unſhaken fortitude; when I ſee the rich contribute voluntarily to the neceſſities of the ſtate; when I ſee the orators forbear to pillage the publick!

Such was the policy of Phocion! That great man conſidered his republick as labouring under a diſeaſe impoſſible to be eradicated; and like a ſkilful phyſician ſought by wiſe and circumſpect ſteps to prolong the life of his country. Enfeebled by a long ſucceſſion of calamities, to have hurried things to a criſis by violent remedies could only have precipitated its diſſolution. Had the people been virtuous, Phocion would have ſuffered them to abandon themſelves to deſpair, becauſe deſpair alone could have wrought their deliverance: but he knew the conduct of a debauched republick muſt be raſh and unadviſed, if it ventured to engage in enterprizes that required judgment and penetration. He apprehended the ruin of Greece inevitable — he was ſenſible reſiſtance would haſten the blow, and that to parry it a while was all human prudence could accompliſh.

The obſervations I have hitherto made, relative to the ſituation of Greece and the ſagacious policy of Philip, may naturally lead the reader to imagine that Demoſthenes is urging his [c] countrymen to undertake impracticable enter-

[c] Their is reaſon to believe Demoſthenes himſelf formed no ſanguine expectations of advantage from the meaſures he perſuaded the Athenians to engage in,

prizes, and in encreaſing the conteſts of the principal republicks by his arbitrary behaviour, muſt have premeditated, as well as accelerated the deſtruction of Greece; acting as an inſtrument to the ambition of Philip. But we ought to be cautious in drawing a concluſion that does not appear ſufficiently well grounded: Philip, on the contrary, conſidered Demoſthenes as an irreconcileable and dangerous enemy, whom he omitted no method to gain over to his intereſt, or at leaſt to purchaſe his ſilence.

Philip undoubtedly diſcerned every advantage he reaped from the imprudence of Demoſthenes; but, too ſkilful a maſter of intrigue to fear the infallibility of thoſe inſtructions purſued by his emiſſaries and allies, for the diſturbance of the tranquillity of Greece, it was of little importance to him whether the reſiſtance of particular cities furniſhed his ambition with an open pretext for ſubduing them. Diſregarding ſuch trivial advantages, he was alarmed with apprehenſions leſt his glory ſhould be tarniſhed by the energy of that eloquence which repreſented him as a tyrant — which recalled to the memory of the Greeks the glorious deeds of their anceſtors, and their love of independency; conjuring them to act with extreme caution and circumſpection. The more artful the machinations of Philip were in the concealment of his deſign to enſlave Greece, and in endeavouring to inſpire that confidence in his integrity as might inſure obedience when liberty was annihilated, the more he muſt obſerve with vexation that the Athenian orator unravelled all the myſteries of his politicks: In teaching the Greeks to bluſh at the approach of that ſervitude they were unable to avoid, he in ſome degree rendered the conſequence of all his victories uncertain. Beſides,

in, ſince amongſt the great number of exordiums he compoſed at leiſure, and ſelected as occaſion gave them propriety, there are very few that ſeem calculated for happy events.

Beſides, in the former contentions of Greece, Philip had ſeen examples in Sparta, Athens, Thebes, and ſome other common-wealths, who in their turn implored the protection of Perſia, and availed themſelves of its aſſiſtance to ſubdue their enemies, the Greeks no longer conſidered ſuch an application in an odious light; and the ſuppoſition was natural that Demoſthenes, convinced of the inefficacy of ſoliciting the Greeks to oppoſe the yoke of Macedon, might be induced to make a voluntary reſignation of his country to the generoſity of the Satrapes of Aſia. What corroborated the probability of ſuch a ſtep, was a prevailing report that this orator had entered into a ſtrict engagement with the court of Perſia, and was even in the liſt of its penſionaries.

Such a revolution in politicks would have defeated all the projects of Philip. The immenſe wealth of Aſia had ſoon bribed away his partiſans, whilſt a re-union of the republicks would probably have been the conſequence of the gratification of ſelf-intereſt in the leading men. Thus, inſtead of vanquiſhing by dividing, Philip would have been under the neceſſity of attacking them collectively; and have been deprived of every other road to conqueſt but through the troops of Perſia. The event ſufficiently juſtified the apprehenſions of Philip. Demoſthenes, in his third Philippic, introduces the propriety of ſending ambaſſadors to the king of Perſia, to repreſent the deſtructive conſequences to the intereſt of that court, ſhould it ſuffer the aggrandizement of Macedon at the expence of all the ſtates of Greece; and alſo to make preſſing remonſtrances for aſſiſtance. The orator, who at firſt only ſounded the diſpoſition of his countrymen, declaimed with redoubled vehemence, in a ſecond diſcourſe, on the indiſpenſableneſs of this reſolution, and

at

at length obtained the conſent of the republick. The negotiation was ſucceſsful, and Philip, having planned the important ſieges of Perinthia and Byzantium, found his operations interrupted by the ſuccours ſent the beſieged by the Perſian court, and the republick of Athens.

Now it was that this prince demonſtrated to the world the ſuperiority of his political abilities; of that diſcernment which enabled him to judge, if he ſhould by an obſtinate perſeverance continue the ſiege, it would irritate the minds of his enemies, ſtrengthen the bands of their alliance, and force that reſiſtance from reſentment, which they wanted both courage and prudence to attempt from any other motive. To avert the gathering ſtorm, he therefore raiſed the ſiege of Perinthia and Byzantium, notwithſtanding the lines of circumvallation were almoſt completed; and turned his arms againſt the Scythians.

The Athenians, whoſe vanity encreaſed with their effeminacy, had not the leaſt doubt but that this new expedition of Philip's was the reſult of deſpair. They believed, in the mortification of diſgrace, he retired into Scythia to conceal his ſhame. Abandoning themſelves to extravagant tranſports of joy, they congratulated the return of liberty, and imagined Greece had no longer any thing to fear from a prince who plunged raſhly into a war that muſt terminate in his [*d*] deſtruction; or, ſhould this irruption be unattended with ſerious conſequences againſt the Scythians, and only retard the progreſs of his arms in Greece, it appeared to the Athenians

[*d*] The Scythians inhabited that large tract of country betwixt the Danube and the Tanais. A people whoſe flocks and herds ſupplied them with ſuſtenance thought it unneceſſary to cultivate the earth, and of courſe had no ſettled habitation. To make war with them was therefore a glaring abſurdity.—An enemy no ſooner entered their territories than he became in want of every means of ſupporting his troops, and periſhed without ſtriking a blow.—The caſe of all who had made the experiment.

Athenians a mark of an irreſolute, timid conduct, which they failed not to attribute to conſternation and terror. On the other ſide, the abject ſervility of the court of Perſia flattered and perſuaded Oclius that he had triumphed over Philip. The leſs this pretended triumph had coſt the Perſians, the more they thought it uſeleſs to raiſe formidable military armaments to enable them to give laws to Philip. Blinded by vain glory, the exultation of the allies prevented their attention to the neceſſity of future defenſive meaſures; and, as that monarch had ſagaciouſly foreſeen, the bands of alliance inſenſibly became relaxed. His penetrating eye watched the imbecility of their conduct from the wilds of Scythia, and meditated a plan of vengeance.

To facilitate his own deſigns, by giving a new turn to affairs, that might interrupt the harmony between Perſia and Athens, he embroiled the Greeks in a quarrel, which he ſeemed to regard as an unintereſted ſpectator. Availing himſelf of his credit with the council of Amphyctions, he perſuaded them to declare war againſt the Locrians of Amphyſſa, for ſeizing ſome conſecrated lands belonging to the temple of Delphos; and to give the command of the army to Cottyplus, a man devoted to the Macedonian intereſt. This *general* by drawing the war into prolixity, avoiding all deciſive actions, and even permitting the Locrians to gain ſeveral advantages, alarmed the Greeks leſt a ſcandal ſhould be thrown on the honour of Apollo, in ſuffering ſuch a violation of his rights to remain unpuniſhed. The ſpirit of enthuſiaſm once kindled by the popular clamour of the partiſans of Philip, the general voice of Greece united in one grand effort to exterminate the ſacrilegious! Simularity of circumſtances recalled to memory the Phoceans — "Philip ſubdued them " — why ſhould he not be equally irreſiſtable againſt the " Locrians? "

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"Locrians?". Accuſtomed to this manner of reaſoning, his enemies did not dare oppoſe it, for fear of the imputation of impiety — and the Amphyctions had at length recourſe to him for redreſs.

In the ſame proportion that this prince had hitherto impoſed upon mankind by avoiding exterior marks of ſplendour and parade, he now gave the reins to his ambitious hopes. Under the ſanction of religion, and with the applauſe of Greece, nothing could exceed the magnificence of his preparations. The Locrians were no ſooner defeated than, taking advantage of that exhilarating flow of ſpirits which always accompanies ſucceſs, and impels people to deeds of proweſs they never dreamed of, Philip made himſelf maſter of Elatea; collected his forces there; and, under colour of puniſhing Athens for aſſiſting the Locrians, turned the fury of his arms againſt that city. The appearance of an enemy at their gates effected what the oratory of Demoſthenes pleaded for in vain. The citizens, tearing themſelves from the enchantment of publick ſhews, re-aſſumed their martial genius — they concluded a treaty with the Thebans, whom Philip had treated with indignity, after firſt rendering them obnoxious in Beotia, and theſe two republicks defended their liberties with the moſt heroic valour.

The battle of Cheronea decided the fate of Greece. Philip, ever attentive to ſow diſſenſions amongſt his enemies, and temper, by acts of clemency, that ſeverity which the exigencies of affairs ſometimes conſtrained him to exerciſe, prepoſſeſſed the Athenians in his favour by his beneficence: he returned their priſoners unranſomed — offered advantageous terms of accommodation — whilſt he purſued the Thebans with inveteracy; refuſing them terms of peace, till he had placed garriſons in their citadels. The ſtrong paſſes of

Greece

Greece were now guarded by Macedonians: by troops to whom victory was familiar. Every one trembled at the name of Philip, or adored his moderation: but his new empire wanted ſtability; and the reduction of the Greeks was a leſs inſuperable difficulty than to render them patient under the yoke of ſervitude. Their paſſions had inſenſibly led them to the brink of the precipice, unconſcious of danger — but the appearance of a deſpotic ruler muſt infallibly open their eyes; and a nation is never more formidable than in the ſtruggles of expiring liberty, abhorring, and unaccuſtomed to ſubmiſſion. Encompaſſed by a number of republicks whoſe citizens were inconſtant, reſtleſs, proud, impetuous, and expert in war, the moſt trifling circumſtance might be productive of a revolution, or at leaſt of a ſeries of inſurrections that would have reduced Macedon to the neceſſity of frequent ſkirmiſhes, without the leaſt proſpect of emolument. But Philip conducted his plan with as much ſagacity as he had formed it. I ſcarce recollect a more ſtriking object of political obſervation than the behaviour of this monarch after the battle of Cheronæa. The oſtentation of conqueſt was tempered with a deſire to win the affections of thoſe whom his victory alarmed. The government and laws of every city were inviolably preſerved. By ſecretly embroiling the Greeks with the court of Perſia, he deprived them of foreign aſſiſtance againſt Macedon. In flattering their vanity and teaching their ambition to aſpire to the conqueſt of Aſia, Philip became the director of thoſe military preparations, which might have been detrimental to himſelf — he enſlaved them in the midſt of their country, and deprived them of the power of reſiſtance. Already had he ſent detachments into Perſia commanded by generals of his own — already was he preparing to follow them at the

head of a formidable army — when he was aſſaſſinated! This event was no ſooner publiſhed than the Thracians, Illyrians, Peonians, and Taulentians appeared in arms. The Greeks, on their ſide, fancied liberty was again reſtored; and, concluding the young ſucceſſor of Philip too much engroſſed by the Perſian war to have leiſure to attend to their reduction, fell into domeſtick diſputes. But Alexander ſoon convinced them he was invincible every where; Thracians, Peonians, Illyrians, Taulentians, all returned to their allegiance! This prince appeared in Greece to intimidate her citizens by a terrible example, in the demolition of the city of Thebes — the firſt that raiſed the ſtandard of rebellion. Availing himſelf of the general conſternation, he perſuaded the Amphyctions to confer on him the title of Generaliſſimo as they had done upon his father, and marched with all expedition to the conqueſt of Aſia.

The declenſion of that empire had been apparent ever ſince the reign of Xerxes. That monarch's ſucceſſors, diſcouraged by the affront his arms had ſuſtained in Greece, thought no more of extending their territories; and, from that period, neglected the neceſſary meaſures of ſecurity. The calm bleſſings of peace degenerated into ſloth and voluptuouſneſs: the preſſure of a crown was too heavy a burthen for a monarch, ſinking under the laſſitude of pleaſure. Impriſoned in their palaces, the Eaſtern princes delegated their authority to rapacious, cruel, ignorant, and treacherous miniſters.

The policy of Artaxerxes, ſirnamed Longimanus, conſiſted in fomenting inteſtine diviſions amongſt the Greeks; balancing their advantages; cheriſhing their rivality; and, by engaging them in civil conteſts, diverted their attention from deſcents into Aſia. Views thus timid, degraded the empire

empire of Cyrus to a rank inferior to Athens, or Lacedemon, and debaſed the minds of his ſubjects to a familiarity with cowardice and contempt.

The reigns of Xerxes II. and Sogclianus were ſhort, and rendered infamous by debauchery and cruelty. Theſe monſters were ſucceeded by Darius Nothus. He was a ſlave decorated with the ornaments of royalty; abject in ſubmiſſion to whoever choſe to govern him; he diſengaged himſelf from the ſhackles of ſome of his eunuchs, who had made him their inſtrument of oppreſſion, only to ſubmit more ſervilely to the imperious authority of his wife.

Under Artaxerxes Mnemon, all tranſactions in Perſia were decided by women, and favourites. The vices of this prince were not ſo ſtrongly marked as to render him odious; but the puſilanimity of his character led him to tolerate in the Satrapes and courtiers thoſe enormities he had not courage to commit. His brother was near ſucceeding in an attempt on the crown; and in the courſe of frequent revolts, towards the cloſe of his reign, all thoſe diſgraceful crimes were perpetrated that are an equal diſhonour to the head and the heart.

"Could I forget, ſaid Xerxes I. on a former occaſion, "the injuries my father ſuffered from the Greeks, — the "conflagration of Sardis — the depredations in Aſia — the "fatal battle of Marathon — do not imagine that they would "be affected with ſuch moderation! — It would only excite "there pride — my generoſity would be conſtrued fear, or "imbecility — and the very nation I neglected to chaſtiſe "would enter Aſia ſword in hand. — It is an impoſſibility "that the Perſians and Greeks ſhould ever be united — their "reciprocal averſion and contempt is an inſurmountable

" obſtacle.—Either Greece muſt become a province to " Perſia, or Perſia ſubmit to receive laws from Greece."

The deſcendants of Xerxes regarded theſe words as the ſtandard of Perſian politicks; particularly after the battles of Salamin, Platea, Mycale, and the progreſs made by the Athenians under Cimon, had demonſtrated their truth in the cleareſt light. Artaxerxes Mnemon ought to have regulated his conduct by the conſideration of thoſe national antipathies which nothing can ſubdue, and every thing augments. The wrongs of individuals are often obliterated by marks of ſincere repentance. The renovation of an interrupted intimacy kindles in the ſoul freſh ſentiments of affection and friendſhip; but rival ſtates are exempt from theſe advantages. Publick alliances are in their nature different from private connections; and ſeldom have power to ſuppreſs national jealouſies. Suſpicion gives birth to ſecret prejudices, and it is not uncommon to ſee two nations whom chance has united in the ſame intereſt, from the prevalency of cuſtom, indulge a diſpoſition to hate and depreciate each other.

To Artaxerxes it appertained to put a period to the long diſagreement between his predeceſſors and the Grecian republicks: and if the reader recollects the remarks on the ſituation of Greece at the death of Epaminondas, he will be able to determine the facility of taking advantage of thoſe fortunate circumſtances which contributed to the ſucceſs of Philip. Applications to the court of Perſia for redreſs and protection, were become an eſtabliſhed cuſtom. Artaxerxes himſelf had acquired great reputation in Greece. Several of her cities had ſubmitted their differences to his arbitration. He dictated the terms of peace of which he was guarantee; or, by refuſing his aſſiſtance to all, rendered them

them equally incapable of ſupporting a war. Thus the great obſtacle was ſurmounted; and the Greeks, diſpoſed for the reception of Perſian bonds, waited only the command of the conqueror. Freed from the obſervation of thoſe wiſe and prudent precautions which a prince, circumſcribed in power like Philip, was obliged to regard, Artaxerxes would have been equally ſucceſsful, if to a laviſh diſtribution of Perſian gold, he had added a powerful fleet. By a ſudden invaſion of Macedon, he might have been maſter of the throne, before Alexander could have ſuppreſſed the revolts in his neighbourhood, or eſtabliſhed himſelf upon it.

But the underſtanding of Artaxerxes was too contracted for the comprehenſion of theſe advantages, and his ſoul incapable of energy and reſolution to ſoar above the timid policy of his predeceſſors, and ſnatch the laurels Fortune offered to his acceptance. The intrepidity of the ten thouſand Greeks who followed Cyrus the younger, in his expedition, and whoſe retreat is undoubtedly the moſt extraordinary event in ancient hiſtory, deceived Artaxerxes in his opinion of a nation, whoſe military ardour was much diminiſhed ſince the days of Themiſtocles. Impreſſed with an idea of their irreſiſtable courage, he trembled at their name; and, after experiencing the ſuperior excellence of the troops of Ageſilaus, thought himſelf ſupremely happy in the removal of ſo formidable an enemy, by bribing ſome of the Grecian ſtates to make a diverſion in his favour, in Laconia.

The acceſſion of Ochus to the throne offered an alarming ſpectacle to the eyes of Perſia. This monſter put ſuch of his brothers to death as were more worthy of a throne than himſelf; and afterwards extended his proſcriptions to his whole family. Loathſome with their blood, mingled with that of his ſubjects, he became totally immerſed in voluptuouſneſs:

tuouſneſs: The eunuch Bagoas was the only man in Perſia ſuperior to him in vice. One ſhudders at the thought of his inhumanity! — but a wretch ſo abandoned was a proper inſtrument to revenge the groans of an injured nation.

Arſes graſped the ſceptre of his father with a trembling hand; and Bagoas, who ſoon cauſed him to be diſpatched, beſtowed the crown on Darius Codomanus.

If one wicked, weak, or luxurious prince is, frequently, ſufficient to overturn a monarchy eſtabliſhed on ſolid and equitable principles, how was it poſſible the empire of Cyrus ſhould reſiſt the united vices of his ſucceſſors? The character of Darius is treated with little leſs contempt by hiſtorians than thoſe of the preceding princes — yet the difference is obvious. Darius had perſonal courage, was generous, and humane; and, notwithſtanding he poſſeſſed an authority without limitation, did not diſdain to conſult the laws, or to be attentive to the manners of his ſubjects. But his mind was unenlightened and irreſolute; nor was he endowed with any of thoſe active qualities whoſe exertion might have defended his throne againſt the ſtorm that threatened it. Alexander and Darius began their reigns almoſt at the ſame period; and had the latter been a truly great prince, there was not time to reform the abuſes, ſupply the defects of government, or fix the ſprings capable of giving velocity to ſo vaſt an empire, and enable it to reſiſt a potent enemy. The efforts of Darius to animate his torpid ſubjects with the fire that glowed in his own breaſt, were fruitleſs: he had nothing to oppoſe the invincible Alexander but men to whom the glory or diſgrace of their country was equally indifferent; ſoldiers without valour or diſcipline, accuſtomed to fly before the Greeks; courtiers whoſe debauched hearts eagerly triumphed over the imbecility of their prince, and the calamities

mities of the publick to gratify their avarice, and ambition, or the mean jealouſy of a faction.

Alexander entered Aſia with an army of thirty thouſand infantry, and five thouſand cavalry. Darius was defeated; and Perſia ſubdued by the arms of Macedon. Yet the plan of Philip remained unfiniſhed. It conſiſted, as I have already obſerved, in diverting the Greeks from apprehenſions of ſlavery; waſting the national ſtrength that nouriſhed their confidence; rendering obedience familiar; and in conſtituting an empire, in which Greece muſt inevitably be included. This was the foundation of the Aſiatic war. His ſon's motive of action was characteriſtically different. The rage of conqueſt urged him to attack Darius — He wiſhed to overturn, not eſtabliſh empires.—An enterprize, prudent in the hands of Philip, became raſh in thoſe of Alexander. The project of the *father* was, to begin his expedition with the junction of two hundred and thirty thouſand Greeks; thus re-inforced, the hope of defeating Darius became a certainty, and he might rationally expect more durable ſucceſs than Ageſilaus; when, ſupported by the whole military force of Greece, he could have no interruptions to dread from attacks upon his hereditary dominions. The *ſon* demanded only a moderate reinforcement from his allies; an imprudence ſtill more unjuſtifiable, as he was not ignorant of the jealouſy of the Greeks, nor inſenſible that the Perſians might, with little difficulty, engage ſome of the neighbouring republicks to avail themſelves of his abſence in the commiſſion of acts of hoſtility.

If Darius had not been intimidated by the raſh preſumption of Alexander; if he had followed the wiſe advice of Mnemon, and imitated the policy of his predeceſſors in a liberal diſpenſation of money to the Greeks; if he had invited thoſe troops to his banner whom the enemy had neglected,

neglected, is there not great probability that Alexander, who entered Aſia with as little prudence [e] as Ageſilaus, would have ſhared his fate? The one was obliged to relinquiſh his conqueſts, and renounce the well-grounded expectation of deſtroying an empire, formerly the terror of Greece, to fly to the aſſiſtance of Sparta — The other muſt have imitated his example for the defence of his hereditary dominions.

That inſatiable thirſt of fame, unquenched with the vaſt monarchy of Cyrus, which penetrated into India — meditated the conqueſt of Africa — and, after reducing Spain and Gaul, would paſs the Alpes and re-enter Macedon through ruined Italy, was extremely remote from the views of Philip, and ſubſtituted nothing rational in exchange. Wherein does the glory of thoſe conqueſts conſiſt whoſe ſole object is the depopulation of mankind? What appellation ought we to beſtow on a hero who ſees only the proſpect before him — regardleſs of the dreary waſte behind? Who, marching with the fury and impetuoſity of a torrent, deluges the earth with blood, is ſwept away from its face, leaving indelible traces of ruin and devaſtation? What hopes could Alexander indulge? what advantage could his country reap from victories ſo extenſive? could he be inſenſible that greatneſs ſo extravagant was never permanent? that to preſerve acquiſitions ſo enlarged — ſo rapidly obtained — ſo inadequate to the ſtrength of Macedon — was an abſolute impoſſibility? To ſuppoſe him incapable of diſcerning ſuch ſelf-evident truths, or even of unraveling the myſteries and ultimate

[e] I have taken notice in the preceding book of the imprudence the Lacedemonians were guilty of, in commencing a war with Perſia, whilſt, notwithſtanding their advantages over the Athenians, their authority in Greece was far from permanent. Had Ageſilaus been as great a politician as he was a general, he would not have neglected to draw a quota of troops from each republick, to complete his army. In a word he had been another Philip.—*See the Elogium on Ageſilaus by Xenophon — Plutarch — Diodorus Siculus.*

ultimate end of his father's politicks, is to confine the understanding of this conqueror to very narrow limits; but if, on the contrary, his acute penetration pierced through every object of ambition, and yet found all too little for its gratification, we ought to consider him as a madman! as the peſt and deteſtation of ſociety.

Darius offered Alexander ten thouſand talents, and the half of his empire: terms ſo advantageous that Parmenio thought it imprudent to reject them. "I would accept "them, ſaid the miniſter, if I was Alexander: So would "I, replied the monarch, were I Parmenio!" This reply, not admirable for its good ſenſe, has been applauded as an elucidation of the character of Alexander, in proving his courage and ambition to be equally unbounded. Philip would have thought like Parmenio, and immediately have concluded a peace. The half of Aſia under his juriſdiction, his talents would have been aſſiduouſly employed in promoting the glory and welfare of Macedon. Attracted within the circle of his power, he would have taught the Greeks to fear and reſpect its influence. In a word, he would have laid the foundation of a mighty empire; and in eſtabliſhing order and regularity among the ſeveral provinces of his dominions, have left his ſucceſſors in a ſtate of maintaining and extending their conqueſts.

An inveſtigation of the character of theſe two monarchs, in this point of view, will afford an amazing contraſt. In Philip to behold a politician ſuperior to all events, and formed to govern mankind. Fortune can oppoſe no obſtacles which his preſcience has not diſcerned, and which, conformably to their different nature, his wiſdom, patience, reſolution, or activity will not enable him to ſurmount. We diſcover a genius comprehenſive and elevated; that connects

an aſtoniſhing ſucceſſion of enterprizes, and executes them with a force proportionate to their magnitude. Every movement is conſequential to the original plan, and an introduction to what is neceſſary for its accompliſhment.

In Alexander we ſee an extraordinary hero, whoſe valour, raſh and impetuous, impels him; if I am allowed the expreſſion, to cut the *Gordian Knot* his father would have looſed. The exceſs of his virtues and vices ſurprizes our reaſon, and repreſents him *Great*, becauſe, in contemplating the ſhining parts of his character, we are ſenſible of the inferiority of our own; and inſtead of regarding this ſingular phenomenon with aſtoniſhment, we cannot withhold our applauſe.

Let fancy tranſport Philip into Aſia, commander in chief of the confederate army: ſuppoſing his prudence leſs calculated to intimidate Darius than the enthuſiaſm of Alexander, it had nevertheleſs conducted him to the ſame end. The intrepidity of Alexander was ſucceſsful in impreſſing the heart of Darius with fear, a paſſion that deprives the underſtanding of exertion, chills the imagination, and renders all the faculties of the ſoul vapid and inſenſible. From Philip that monarch had experienced a different kind of conſternation: he would have encompaſſed him with ſnares; he would have availed himſelf of the diviſions in the Aſiatic provinces, whoſe inhabitants, diſunited in manners, religion, and laws, had not the leaſt connection with each other; and, by blowing up the ſparks of rebellion, he would have tempted the ambition of the proud Satrapes to graſp at independency. Philip would have traded in cities; and, according to the ſarcaſm upon him, carried on the war like a merchant, as well as a general; whilſt the Perſian empire had fallen a prey to bribery; and Darius, perhaps without

any

any deciſive blow, had ſeen the gradual diſſolution of his power.

Place Alexander in his father's ſituation, and Macedon (declining, from the imbecility of the late princes,) muſt have fallen a victim to his temerity — no ſooner does a neighbouring power ſeek to take advantage of the confuſion and weakneſs of the government, than he flies to revenge the inſult, unfurniſhed with troops, arms, or money! A recapitulation of the delicate conjunctures Philip was engaged in, is ſuperfluous; I confine myſelf to that refinement of policy which raiſed the ſieges of Perinthus and Byzantium.—Was Alexander capable of ſuch a conduct?

The adoption of the Perſian manners, ſo oppoſite to thoſe of his country, is imputed by ſome writers, zealous to ſupport the glory of their hero, to political diſſimulation; an effort to conciliate the affections of the barbarians, and eſtabliſh his new empire on the baſis of confidence. If this was his real motive, the fallacy of his judgment ſurely deſerves reprehenſion! In order to ingratiate himſelf with his new ſubjects, was it prudent to appear odious in the eyes of his old ones? Though greatly inferior in number, it required more caution and addreſs to govern their paſſions. The Greeks were brave, military, and tenacious of liberty:—the Perſians, accuſtomed to fawn, and ſubmiſſive to the rod of deſpotiſm, were voluntary ſlaves. It was therefore on the ſide of Greece, rather than on that of Perſia, the kingdom of Macedon could be menaced with a revolution. An opinion verified at the death of Alexander, when the Greeks attempted to break their chains, whilſt the Aſiatics continued indolently obedient. A celebrated politician aſſigns a reaſon for this difference. What advantage, ſays he, could accrue to Perſia from preferring the family of Darius to the ſucceſſors of Alexander? Whoever dethrones a deſpotic

monarch, has little reaſon to fear the object of his ambition ſhould be wreſted from him. The leaders of the Perſian army were immoral and puſilanimous, over whom Darius had exerciſed ſupreme authority; after his fall, not one of them had credit to arm the people in his favour, or lead them on to revenge the death of a maſter whoſe life was immaterial to their felicity.

This alteration in the manners of Alexander, proceeded from a real depravity of principles. On entering the tent of Darius, adorned with the richeſt and moſt magnificent ornaments, that prince's ſoul, till then wholly engroſſed by the love of glory, was ſo ſtruck with the brilliant appearance of the objects around him, that he could not forbear exclaiming to his attendants, " This is indeed to reign! " The ſeeds of corruption became matured by the ſunſhine of proſperity.—Conqueror of the world, he eagerly wiſhed to enjoy its luxuries.

Notwithſtanding the enlarged idea of Plutarch, it is not eaſy to conceive that Alexander ever thought of connecting the various provinces of his empire under one plan of legiſlation, whoſe permanency was to be the wonder of poſterity. The more the qualities that conſtitute the hero were conſpicuous, the leſs room was there to diſplay thoſe of the legiſlator. So far was Alexander from applying remedies to moderate the ambition of his generals, that he foreſaw their animoſities with a kind of tranſport, and conſidered their future wars as *Funeral Games* inſtituted to his memory. Did he not light the *Torch* himſelf by his indeterminate appointment of the ſucceſſion " To the moſt worthy? " There is great probability he believed it of importance to his fame, that he, alone, could wield the ſceptre of the globe! and that ſeveral powerful monarchies ſhould be formed from the ruins of his empire!

A SUMMARY OF BOOK IV.

CONTENTIONS *among the ſucceſſors of Alexander.—Survey of the Macedonian empire.—What conduct Greece ought to have obſerved at that period.—Origin of the eſtabliſhment, and regulations of the Achaian league.—Defence of the policy of Aratus againſt the accuſations of Plutarch.—Injudicious conduct of Philip of Macedon, during the ſecond Punic war.—Vanquiſhed by the Romans.—Progreſs of the latter in Greece, till its reduction to a Roman province.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the ſervile acquieſcence of the Perſians, and the nerveleſs languor of the Greeks, the grandeur of Macedon inclined towards deſtruction. Empires ſo vaſt as that of Alexander, ſeem deſtined to ſink by their own preponderance. Sometimes, this is the effect of that ſecurity from foreign invaſions which renders men inattentive to prudential meaſures, and occaſions a relaxation in the ſprings of government. At others, it reſults from the ſupineneſs of the miniſters, who have not virtue to reſiſt the licentious temptations which ſurround them: whilſt the people, haraſſed with repeated acts of oppreſſion, abandon themſelves to lethargic inactivity. Another cauſe ſtill more predominant, is that imbecility, the

the infallible conſequence of extenſive dominion; and totally irreconcileable with the harmony neceſſary to be maintained in every part. The dilatory execution of orders, unavoidable from diſtance, and the inadequate proportion between abuſes and their political remedies, render it impoſſible for *prudence*, ever leſs ingenious than the paſſions, to reſtrain that torrent of vice, whoſe force encreaſes with its rapidity, overwhelming in its courſe all the duties of ſociety.

The terror that accompanied the name of Alexander—that admiration for his perſon, which a thouſand heroic qualities inſpired, joined to the enthuſiaſtic fire which animated his troops, was the ſole cement that retained ſo many diſcordant nations in obedience.

The reign of that prince was too ſhort, and his monarchy too ſlightly eſtabliſhed at his death, to have given ſanction to laws, or authority to cuſtoms. His camp was not a ſchool to inculcate moderation and juſtice. Ambition muſt have intoxicated the generals of a hero whoſe maxim it was that courage and force were legitimate titles to a kingdom wherever they could make ſubjects. Inveſted with almoſt abſolute power, partakers of the ſplendour of Alexander—could they be expected to yield a tame ſubmiſſion to the authority of a weak [*a*] prince, and an infant ſtill in the cradle?

Had Perdiccas, who was appointed regent, poſſeſſed all the talents and ſagacity of Philip, he could not poſſibly have maintained order and ſubordination in the realm. The ſupreme character he appeared in was inſupportable to commanders conſcious of equality of rank. Inſtead of dazzling them

[*a*] Aridæus, brother of Alexander, who took the name of Philip on his acceſſion to the throne, in conjunction with his nephew, ſon of Alexander and Roxana.

them by the luſture of his ſituation, he only irritated their pride and pretenſion. It is true that the fear of publick odium reſtrained them from open acts of rebellion and defiance, but they paid no deference to the regent's commands. Each lieutenant of the provinces regulated his adminiſtration by laws that correſponded beſt with his own intereſt — levied troops, erected fortreſſes at pleaſure, and refuſed to render any account of the publick taxes and tributes. The monarchy of Alexander, though yet apparently united, was in reality already broken into ſeperate, independent diſtricts.

In a ſituation ſo critical, Perdiccas had no method to keep the people in allegiance, but by giving remarkable proofs of attachment to the reigning family. He had in ſome degree preſerved his authority if he would have divided it with the council, or concurred in meaſures with the principal nobles, after the example of Eumenes, to enforce the fiction of [*b*] Alexander's *immediate preſence*. But whether his vanity was too great for the concealment of his ambition; or that his knowledge of the Macedonian generals convinced him, however irreproachable his conduct might be, their artful inſinuations would render it ſuſpected, and their malice ſupply pretences to juſtify a civil war; Perdiccas by his marriage with Cleopatra, the ſiſter ofAlexander, diſcovered to the world the extent of his views, and his reſolution to ſupport them by arms. Scarcely

[*b*] The ingenious fiction of Eumenes, impoſed on the ſuperſtitious minds of Antigonus and Teutamus, chief officers of the Ayryraſpides, whoſe envy and emulation diſdained to be directed by him; he pretended that Alexander appeared to him in a viſion, and ſhewed him a magnificent pavillion, richly ornamented with a regal throne, and promiſed if they would ſit in council, there he himſelf would be always preſent, to direct and proſper their conſultations and atchievements, provided they addreſſed their prayers to him. A ſplendid tent was accordingly erected, and a throne within it, called *the throne of Alexander*, where the nobles met to deliberate on affairs of conſequence. *Plutarch's Life of Eumenes.*

Scarcely had the regent made the neceſſary preparations for attacking Ptolomy, who had thrown off his authority in Egypt, when Antigonus, the moſt politic and aſpiring of all Alexander's lieutenants, repreſented him as an uſurper, whoſe machinations were at work to diſpoſſeſs the nobles of their government, plant in them creatures of his own, and, as the completion of his crimes, would ſacrifice the two kings of Macedon to his ambition. Leſs plauſible accuſations had ſufficed to kindle the flame of war throughout an empire, where each individual was eager for its commencement, and every lieutenant of a province flattered his hopes with gaining the principal advantage in its proſecution.

Perdiccas, whom ſeverity and pride rendered obnoxious to the army, fell the victim of an inſurrection, by the ſwords of conſpirators. The very troops who were marching againſt Ptolomy offered him the regency; but that monarch, [c] for we may allow the appellation, judiciouſly refuſed a dignity whoſe prerogatives were impoſſible to be maintained, without exciting the envy and animoſity of his competitors; and, in beſtowing an ideal, yet conteſted title to the ſucceſſion of Alexander, would probably have hazarded the loſs of Egypt. The regency was entruſted to Aridæus and Pithon, leaders of the conſpiracy that deſtroyed Perdiccas; but they were unequal to the weight, and reſigned it to Antipater, governor of Macedonia, who had led his forces into Aſia to make a diverſion in favour of Ptolomy, againſt Eumenes, and thoſe other generals who continued faithful to Perdiccas, and their allegiance to the royal family.

Antipater,

[c] The lieutenants of provinces, though independent in their governments, did not aſſume the title of king till after the extinction of the family of Alexander. Antigonus ſet the example, which was ſoon followed by Ptolomy and the other generals.

Antipater, not inferior to Ptolomy in political diſcernment, did not think himſelf obliged to ſacrifice the advantages of his ſituation to the intereſt of this new appointment. Whether by his connection with the revolting chiefs he was informed of their deſigns, and, in conſequence of theſe informations, convinced the Macedonian empire muſt be of ſhort duration, or whether he apprehended danger from the renunciation of his engagements with them, to contract new and precarious ones with the friends of Perdiccas and the crown, he certainly did not heſitate to bring diſgrace upon the regency, and precipitate the ruin of the ſtate. In a freſh diſtribution of the provinces, he diſplaced Eumenes, and the reſt of the loyal generals, and aſſigned them to the moſt declared and dangerous enemies of Macedon.

The conſequence of this regulation was a bloody war in Aſia, amongſt the lieutenants of Alexander. The preſent poſſeſſors ſhewed no inclination to reſign their provinces upon a ſimple order from the regent, and thoſe appointed to ſucceed were reſolved to ſupport their deſtination by the ſword. Amidſt this general tendency towards rebellion, Antipater repaſſed into Europe with the two kings under his protection, and confining his attention to the government of Macedonia, ſeemed to forget that her ſons had conquered the world.

The conduct of the Greeks would have been prudent, had they waited the reſult of the firſt contentions in Aſia, of which I have been ſpeaking as a thing eaſily foreſeen, before they made any attempt for the recovery of their freedom.

Phocion was induſtrious to repreſs the ardour of the Athenians, impatient to take the field, the moment they heard of the death of the Macedonian hero. "If Alexander is dead

" to day, ſaid he, will he not be ſo to morrow and the next " day? " But Demoſthenes, who was recalled from exile, expatiated with his uſual eloquence, on the invaluable bleſſings of liberty, on the diſgrace of his country, and, in exhorting it to reſiſtance, ſtrengthened the yoke of ſervitude.

A compleat victory gained by Leoſthenes, general of the confederates, over Antipater, could not in its conſequences be productive of great utility: and whilſt the Athenians and their allies were tranſported [*d*] with joy, did not Phocion ſay with reaſon, " That it would have given him pleaſure to gain the battle, but ſhame to be the author of the counſel! "

What advantage could Greece expect from oppoſition to a monarchy powerful as the Macedonian, whilſt united? Without the concurrence of a diſſenſion amongſt the ſucceſſors of Alexander, what could it avail to defeat Antipater? No ſooner was it known, than reinforcements were ſent him from every corner of the globe. Clitus fitted out a formidable fleet; Leonatus entered Europe with the military forces of Phrygia; Craterus led with him from Cilicia ſix thouſand Macedonians, the better half of whom had accompanied Alexander in all his expeditions; beſides theſe he had a thouſand Perſian infantry, and five hundred cavalry. This inundation of auxiliaries Phocion foreſaw — this was his motive for ſtriving to ſtem the blind and impetuous ardour of his countrymen. Suppoſing that, inſtead of revenging his defeat — impoſing heavier chains — deſtroying democratical government in Athens — baniſhing part of her citizens

[*d*] The Phocians, Dorians, Locrians, Atnians, Atiſſians, Dolopians, the Athamantes and Leucadians, ſome cantons of Illyria and Thrace — the Theſſalians — great part of Peloponneſus, *viz.* the people of Argos, Sycione, Elio, Meſſenæ and Acté.

tizens to Thrace — or garriſoning the fortreſs of Munychia, Antipater had been a ſecond time defeated in an engagement of ſtill greater conſequence, he muſt ſoon have been recruited by numbers ſufficient to overturn the foundations of Greece, before the ſtrength of Macedon had been impaired, or the ſeeds of civil diſcord ripened into action.

But when Perdiccas declared war againſt Ptolomy the face of affairs was as favourable to a revolt in Greece as it had been hitherto averſe. So far was Antipater from drawing aſſiſtance from Aſia, that he ſent thither the remainder of his troops to oppoſe the deſigns of Perdiccas, and ſupport Antigonus and Ptolomy, whoſe preſervation was of infinite importance to all the enterprizing ſpirits of the empire. Antipater would have offered peace to the Greeks on advantageous terms, as he did to the Ætolians with whom he was at war; Perdiccas and his adherents would have courted their alliance as zealouſly as they did that of the Ætolians: [*e*] in a word, their ſituation muſt have given them conſequence, they might have appeared reſpectable to the ſucceſſors of Alexander, and have found no obſtacle to the reſtoration of liberty, but the turpitude of their own hearts.

So far was Greece from availing herſelf of theſe advantages at the commencement of the diſturbances in Macedon, that ſhe fell the earlieſt victim of the war. Reduced by the fury of Antipater to a ſtate of imbecility that rendered them deſpicable, the voice of reaſon was no longer heard among

[*e*] When Antipater marched into Aſia, Perdiccas concluded a treaty with the Ætolians, by which they engaged to make a diverſion in his favour. They accordingly entered Theſſaly with an army of ſixteen thouſand men, poſſeſſed themſelves of ſeveral fortreſſes, and oppoſed Polycles the lieutenant of Antipater. Being neceſſitated to recall a conſiderable part of their forces to defend them againſt the Acamanians, they diſmantled moſt of the ſtrong places of Theſſaly.—Polyperchon, another of Antipater's lieutenants, attacked the Ætolians that remained, and recovered the garriſoned cities.

the Greeks. Their country was the theatre of the war—their cities, which 'till then had preſerved the ſhadow of liberty, were a prey to a legion of tyrants; who, under covert of the diſorder of the times, uſurped the ſupreme authority. I ſhall only mention the Macedonian affairs ſo far as may be neceſſary for underſtanding thoſe of Greece.

Antipater enjoyed his honours but a ſhort time; and inſtead of bequeathing them to his ſon, he appointed Polyperchon to ſucceed him in the regency, and in the government of Macedonia. Caſſander, enraged at this apparent injuſtice, thirſted for revenge, and was eager to acquire the poſſeſſion of a kingdom which he regarded as a lawful right of inheritance. But as he had filled only ſubaltern poſts, he was deſtitute of money, veſſels, troops, and every thing requiſite for the execution of his deſign. He communicated it to Seleucus, governor of Babylon, and to Antigonus, who had conquered Aſia-Minor. Theſe men, whoſe ambition ſought means of fomenting and multiplying the general diſturbances and rendering the regency contemptible, flattered Caſſander's reſentment, in ſupplying him with an army to facilitate his enterprize.

Polyperchon, weakly eſtabliſhed in his government, was obliged to abandon it on the approach of Caſſander, and retreat into Peloponneſus, with that part of the ſoldiery whoſe fidelity he could truſt, and the treaſure amaſſed by the kings of Macedon. This latter circumſtance drew to his ſtandard all thoſe mercenary Greeks, who made arms their profeſſion, and whoſe venality enliſted under the beſt paymaſter. Of theſe Philip uſed to ſay, war was their time of repoſe. Polyperchon afterwards endeavoured to intereſt Greece in his favour, by iſſuing a decree for the ſubſtitution of democratic government, in the room of ariſtocratic, eſtabliſhed

bliſhed by Antipater. He authorized the republicks to baniſh their magiſtrates, and engaged them by a ſolemn oath never to undertake any thing prejudicial to the welfare of Macedon. But vain was the attempt of Polyperchon to reanimate the languid genius of Greece. Overwhelmed with the preſſure of diſgrace, ſentiment was totally annihilated. An alteration in the ſyſtem of government was productive of new diſorders, in reviving the cuſtoms of proſcription, and exile; and Polyperchon, neceſſitated to act on the defenſive, in order to ſecure the fidelity of ſeveral Grecian ſtates, reſolved to appoint lieutenants, who abuſed their power, and ſoon became real tyrants.

Whilſt the regent of the empire was acting the part of an adventurer in Peloponneſus, whilſt the race of tyrants multiplied in Greece, and Macedon every day experienced ſome revolution injurious to the family of Alexander, whoſe fate at laſt was truly deplorable, Eumenes, Alcetas, and Attalus were defeated by Antigonus. He deſtroyed the remaining friends of Perdiccas and the government. This ſucceſs entitled him, in ſome degree, to the ſovereignty of Aſia, but his inſatiable ambition was only to be gratified by the monarchy of Alexander. He conſidered Ptolomy, Seleucus, Lyſimachus, and Caſſander as ſo many troubleſome rivals, whoſe fortune he could not contemplate without envy and vexation. Whether Macedon, by its acquired reputation under Philip and Alexander, offered a more brilliant prize to his ambition, or whether he thought the poſſeſſion of that kingdom inveſted her ſovereigns with a right to attempt the recovery of thoſe provinces torn from its dominion, it was with Caſſander that Antigonus determined to commence the war.

With this view he ſought an alliance with Polyperchon, cheriſhed

cheriſhed his hopes, and furniſhed him with forces to purſue them; at the ſame time, to conciliate the favour of the Grecian cities, he publiſhed a decree reſtoring their rights of freedom, and relieved them from the oppreſſion of foreign garriſons. His ſon Demetrius, ſirnamed Poliorcetes, made two voyages to Greece, to enforce his father's decree. This young hero, it muſt be confeſſed, drove the garriſons of Ptolomy from the greater part of the fortreſſes, and diſpoſſeſſed Caſſander of the places he occupied, yet the calamitous ſtate of the citizens was not redreſſed: the armies which ravaged their country robbed them of that liberty granted by inefficacious decrees. Their only advantage, if it could be ſtyled one, was to change their maſters, and to behold their enemies reciprocally dealing out deſtruction on each other, as the puniſhment of luſt of power.

Caſſander, on the point of looſing every thing, opened the eyes of Seleucus, Ptolomy, and Lyſimachus, to the proſpect of impending danger. His remonſtrances made them ſenſible of their imprudence in ſuffering the extraordinary aggrandizement of a neighbouring potentate, without oppoſition, convinced them that they muſt be involved in the misfortunes which threatened Caſſander; that his ruin was an introductory ſtep towards their own; that the genius of Antigonus was too aſpiring to ſuffer the conqueſt of Macedon to terminate his expectations; and that now, if ever, was the moment to form an aſſociation againſt that invader. The four monarchs entered immediately into alliance, and the famous battle of Ipſus finally determined the ſucceſſion of Alexander: Antigonus was defeated, and loſt his life in the field, and his enemies divided the ſpoil.

Greece might have had room, for exultation on her deliverance from tyrannical oppreſſors, or at leaſt have taſted ſome

of

of the bleſſings of peace, under the protection of the kings of Macedon, to whoſe lot ſhe had fallen; but it was the deſtiny of this unfortunate country to be the ſcene of the uncommon adventures of a prince, on whom *Fortune* ſeemed diſpoſed to exhauſt all her caprice.

Demetrius Poliorcetes had ſaved from the wreck of his father's kingdom only the city of Tyre, the iſle of Cyprus, and a ſmall tract of land on the borders of Aſia. Since the example of Alexander, whoever poſſeſſed ambition, hope, and reſolution, thought himſelf ſufficiently entitled to erect an empire. Greece appeared an inviting temptation to Demetrius, who had friends there that ſupplied him conſtantly with intelligence, and whilſt he marched towards conqueſt, at the head of an army of adventurers equal to the taſk, he was deprived of his original poſſeſſions. *Fortune* indemnified this young hero, in taking advantage of the contentions among the ſons of Caſſander, about the right of ſucceſſion, and ſeated him on the throne of Macedon. Deſpoiled of his ſceptre in about ſeven years, his reſtleſs ſpirit ſought freſh acquiſitions in Aſia; leaving his ſon Antigonus Gonatus ſome forces for his defence in Greece. A prince who, according to the report of hiſtorians, acted on the ſame political principles as Polyperchon; placed tyrants in ſome cities, and was the declared protector of ſuch as had uſurped ſovereign authority in others. Supported by theſe, he became powerful enough to recover the kingdom of Macedon, on the death of Joſthenes, confirm his regal power, and tranſmit it to his poſterity.

Whilſt the ſlavery of Greece grew every day more rigid, haraſſed by events which I have ſlightly touched upon, the Ætolians, 'till then undiſtinguiſhed by any important enterprize, began to be the ſubject of diſcourſe. Of all the Greeks,

Greeks, this people alone perſevered in the illiberal practice of robbery and pyracy, which the rules of civil ſociety had baniſhed from the other ſtates.

The Ætolians, ſays Polybius, are rather ferocious beaſts than men: juſtice, rectitude, treaties, alliances, are with them empty names, the objects of their deriſion. Accuſtomed to ſubſiſt by plunder, they ſpared their allies, only when they could gratify their rapacity on their enemies. When Greece was in a ſtate of keeping them in awe, their depredations were confined to Macedonia, Illyria, the iſlands leaſt connected with the continent, and to the ſea.

Things aſſumed a different aſpect when the Greeks were ſunk in depravity, rent with diviſions, and enfeebled by domeſtic wars. The Ætolians at firſt levied contributions on particular diſtricts of the Peloponneſus, by degrees ſpread deſolation throughout that province, and by alliances with one or other of the ſucceſſors of Alexander, at length extended their encroachments to the reſt of Greece.

The havock committed by this ſavage race, recalled to remembrance, in ſome republicks, their ancient aſſociations. Dyma, Trytæa, Patras, and Pharæa, then [f] chief cities of Achaia, and moſt expoſed to inroads from the Ætolians, were the firſt to form an alliance, which was afterwards the baſis of a more extenſive league, of which I ſhall trace the progreſs; as that confederacy placed Achaia in a ſituation ſimilar to what Sparta and Athens formerly filled in Greece.

Achaia, like other Grecian ſtates, had been originally governed by kings. Theſe were the deſcendants of Oreſtes, and preſerved the crown in his family; 'till the ſons of Ogyges, incurring

[f] Theſe cities were twelve in number; Patras, Dyma, Pharæa, Tritæa, Leontium, Ægina, Pellene, Ægium, Bura, Ceraunia, Olenus, Helice: this laſt was waſhed away by the ſea a little before the battle of Leuctra.

incurring the people's reſentment, were expelled the kingdom. The Achaians became a free nation; each city was an independant republick; enjoying its particular territories, laws, and magiſtrates. The diſtinctions introduced by monarchy diſappeared, and ſupreme authority was veſted in the people. Democracy, ſo tempeſtuous in other republicks of Greece, introduced no diſorders in Achaia, becauſe it was tempered by a general ſyſtem of legiſlature, or defenſive aſſociation, to which every city, conſcious of its weakneſs ſeparately, paid a voluntary ſubmiſſion. A circumſtance naturally ariſing from a perfect uniformity in genius, conſequence, meaſures, laws, and intereſts.

Theſe ſeveral republicks renounced the privilege of contracting particular alliances with foreign powers; agreed that the moſt exact equality ſhould be the baſis of their union; and that the power or antiquity of any city ſhould have no ſuperior prerogatives. They created a national ſenate, appointed to aſſemble at Ægium at the beginning of ſpring and autumn.

This congreſs was compoſed of an equal number of deputies from each republick, who were the arbiters of peace and war; had the ſole privilege of making treaties, eſtabliſhing peculiar laws relative to the authority of the ſenate; nominating ambaſſadors; and receiving thoſe of foreign powers. If, during the ſenate's receſs, ſome important and unexpected affair intervened, the two Prætors were impowered to convoke an extraordinary aſſembly. Theſe magiſtrates, annually choſen, commanded the armies; and though not authorized to undertake any thing without the participation and conſent of ten commiſſioners, who compoſed a council, yet they appeared, in ſome degree, the

repreſentatives of publick authority, during the prorogation of the ſenate, wherein they preſided.

The happy reſult of theſe political regulations was, that the citizens of Achaia enjoyed liberty without the fear of loſing it; and in confining their attention to civil affairs, and avoiding to interfere in the more material concerns of government, they eſcaped thoſe tempeſtuous mental agitations, the ſource of party and cabal, and, almoſt ever, the deſtruction of a Democracy.—The Achaians, peculiarly inclined to moderation, neither ſtudied to acquire riches in profuſion, or to appear formidable to their neighbours by military fame. The ſenate, obliged to conform its conduct to the natural genius of the people, was unambitious, and of courſe, in all its decrees, diſcovered an invariable adherence to juſtice. This attachment to virtue rendered the character of the Achaian ſenate ſo reſpectable, as frequently to have the honour referred to it of accommodating diſputes in Peloponneſus, and other parts of Greece, nay even amongſt foreign nations.

TheAchaians, indulged by Philip and Alexander in the poſſeſſion of their laws and conſtitution, I might almoſt venture to add of their liberty, were no longer exempt from the misfortunes that Greece had experienced from their ſucceſſors. The cities of Achaia ſuffered equal indignities with thoſe of Macedonia: ſome were forced to admit the garriſons of Polyperchon, others thoſe of Caſſander, Demetrius, or Antigonus Gonatus. The reſt nouriſhed domeſtick tyrants, and all the bonds of ſociety were cancelled.

Such was the ſituation of Achaia when the city of Dyma and the three aforementioned cities laid the foundation of a ſecond league, that adopted the manners, rules, and policy of

of the firſt. Five years after this period, the Ægeans, freeing themſelves from foreign troops, incorporated with this riſing republick, which alone acquired an encreaſe of ſtrength by the junction of the Carynians and Burians, who had killed their tyrants. Some cities of Peloponneſus requeſted to be admitted members of this aſſociation, whilſt others waited till they could diſcern their true intereſt, or till compelled by the appearance of force to embrace a meaſure, of whoſe utility they were quickly convinced.

Polybius is of opinion that at the time Macedon was ſo diſtracted with civil diſſenſions, as to be almoſt inattentive to the affairs of Greece, the progreſs of the Achaians might have been much more rapid, had their *prætors* excelled in courage and underſtanding. Nor is it an improbable ſuppoſition that the quick ſucceſſion of theſe magiſtrates was for many years an obſtacle to the advancement of Achaia — by that inactivity of conduct which generally reſults from diverſity of ſentiments. This at leaſt is certain, that the face of affairs was greatly improved when the Achaians, inſtead of annually electing two prætors confided the adminiſtration to the care of one.

Four years after this regulation, Aratus delivered Sycione from her tyrant, and made it a member of the Achaian league. The ſuperior talents of this celebrated man raiſed him to the prætorſhip, which in his hands becoming a kind of perpetual magiſtracy, preſented Greece with an altogether extraordinary ſcene. Uninfluenced by ambition, or the luſt of conqueſt, the Achaians, without noiſe or oſtentation, were the declared enemies of all the tyrants of Peloponneſus. They took ſeveral cities by ſurprize; and, after a re-inſtatement of their privileges thought it a ſufficient indemnification for their hazard and expence, to unite them to a ſociety,

where they enjoyed equal independency and prerogatives, with the original members. Many of the tyrants, conſcious of inability to ſupport their uſurpation, particularly after the death of Demetrius king of Macedon, their protector, made a voluntary reſignation of their authority.

This ſudden alteration in the affairs of Peloponneſus, and the important part the Achaians began to aſſume, indicated a revival of that averſion to regal government which was the characteriſtick of the ancient Greeks, and an intention of uniting their various intereſts in one great indiſſoluble alliance. But, beſides that the jealouſy of thoſe cities which had formerly governed Greece, induced them to traverſe ſecretly the deſigns of the Achaians, the league itſelf was not ſufficiently powerful to inſpire the confidence requiſite to invigorate the courage of a people, wearied with wreſtling againſt adverſe fortune, and familiar with ſubjection. The moderation of the Achaians, though it encreaſed the number of their allies, was a potent obſtacle to their greatneſs, by the pacific ſentiments it inſpired. Their love of peace inclined them to neglect the cultivation of thoſe active virtues which alone could have given them pre-eminence in Greece, and from a re-union of it parts have eſtabliſhed a ſolid and permanent ſyſtem of government.

Aratus, who was regarded as the inſpiring genius of the ſecond Achaian league, contributed greatly to preſerve that moderation, which was the diſtinguiſhing mark of its character. "He was, ſays Polybius the man in the world beſt calculated for conducting the affairs of a republick with propriety. An exquiſite accuracy of judgment unerringly prompted him to diſcern the right path in all civil conteſts. Dextrous in the inveſtigation and direction of the paſſions of thoſe with whom he converſed — he ſpoke with

with grace — knew to make ſilence eloquent — and poſſeſſed the art of acquiring friends, and rivetting their attachment. He underſtood the nature of party ſpirit — when to inflame — when to ſuppreſs it — could entangle his enemies in the full exultation of ſecurity. His reſolution and activity in the conduct and execution of plans were unparalleled — yet Aratus, ſo ſuperior in political endowments, was below mediocrity as a general. When open oppoſition was inevitable, the faculties of his ſoul ſeemed ſuſpended and loſt in conſternation: and though Peloponneſus was filled with trophies of his victories, few commanders were more deficient in military talents. "

Polybius ſhould have added, that Aratus was himſelf ſenſible of this imbecility, and acknowledged the embarraſſment he felt at the head of an army. This uncontroverted fact made it natural for him, in the proſecution of his own tranquillity, to apply his endeavours towards the eſtabliſhment of publick peace; and, in order to give it permanence, he cheriſhed that principle of timidity to which the league owed its origin; repreſſing with care thoſe ambitious emotions which might have been conſequential to ſucceſs. Beſides, this penetrating politician undoubtedly knew that the Achaian cities, from the nature of the confederacy, were incapable of purſuing with perſeverance any enterprize that required time to accompliſh. He therefore regarded the general reſtoration of liberty in Greece, and a general political plan of government in its cities, as equally impracticable.

To palliate the danger the Achaians were expoſed to, from the vicinity of a king of Macedon, whoſe formidable enmity only waited for a plauſible pretence to ſubdue them, Aratus ſkilfully availed himſelf of the competition that diſplayed

played itſelf among the ſucceſſors of Alexander — Their ambition would not ſuffer them to reſt ſatisfied with the diviſion of territory ſettled after the battle of Ipſus. Mutually the ſlaves of fear, jealouſy, and ſuſpicion, their ſole endeavour was to weaken each other. The courts of Syria and Egypt were principally attentive to the progreſs of the kings of Macedon; who, regarding themſelves as lawful heirs of Alexander, thought they had an inconteſtable right to the provinces diſmembered from his empire. They flattered themſelves with a re-union of theſe, whenever the entire reduction of Greece ſhould enable them to collect their forces, and reſume the grand ſcheme of conqueſt that Philip had planned and Alexander executed.

Theſe Aſiatic powers obſerved with pleaſure that, far from a ſervile ſubmiſſion to the Macedonian yoke, the inhabitants of Peloponneſus had entered into an aſſociation favourable to liberty, which would ſerve as a rampart againſt their aſpiring neighbour. It was evidently their intereſt to protect the Achaian confederacy: Aratus was ſenſible of it; and, by contracting alliances with Egypt and Syria, kept Antigonus Gonatus, and his ſon Demetrius in awe, and impreſſed an idea of his own importance. But, however ſagacious his political conduct was, much more was ſtill wanting to ſecure the peace of Achaia. Diſagreements might ariſe amongſt her protectors; or, involved in civil diſcord, they might be too much employed in the redreſs of their own grievances to concern themſelves with the fate of foreign auxiliaries.

A king of Macedon might ſeduce the Aſiatic powers from an attention to their real intereſt, corrupt their miniſters, or conſtruct a navy ſufficiently formidable to inſure the empire of the ſea — and leave his land forces an open field for conqueſt. Providence might place on the throne of Alexander

ander a martial, active, enterprizing prince, in oppoſition to Eaſtern monarchs, diſtinguiſhed only by their indolence and timidity.

Theſe were moſt of the apparent dangers that threatened the Achaian conſtitution — but where is ſecurity to be found for a republick that wants internal force to fix the wheel of Fortune, in defiance of her inconſtancy. The glory of the Achaians was liable to be clouded by numberleſs and various accidents; one, the moſt unexpected, totally ſubverted their conſtitution and politicks.

After an unſucceſsful exertion of courage, at the time Alexander [g] was engaged in his Perſian expedition, the Spartans became immerſed in the moſt diſſolute and ſcandalous debauchery; not the ſmalleſt veſtige of their ancient purity of manners was now diſcernible. Agis, in attempting to revive and enforce the laws of Lycurgus, inflamed againſt himſelf the reſentment of a people grown fond of immorality, and fell a victim to the artifice and fury of a degenerate age.

The tragical fate of this prince, ſo calculated to cool the ardour of reformation, ſeems to have put the final ſtroke to the depreſſion of Sparta; yet Cleomenes was not diſcouraged. In reality, though his views terminated in the ſame point, the track he purſued was ſo different, that there was leſs reaſon to apprehend the ſame cataſtrophe.

What Agis attempted as a philoſopher, Cleomenes proſecuted as an ambitious man. The one, enraptured with the perfection of Lycurgus's inſtitutions, wiſhed to recall them and

[g] The Spartans refuſed to join with Alexander in the Perſian war; and formed an alliance againſt Macedon. Their army conſiſted of 20000 foot and 2000 horſe. Antipater oppoſed them with a ſuperior force; an engagement enſued. The allies of Sparta deſerted, part of the Lacedemonians were left dead in the field, the reſt ſaved themſelves by a ſhameful flight.

and their contemporary virtues, temperance, frugality, love of juſtice, and reverence for religion. The other diſregarded laws, and paid as little reſpect to virtue, independently conſidered. If he was deſirous to baniſh the reigning vices of his country, it was from conviction that they enervated the Spartans, and rendered their republick contemptible to a prince who aimed at great and daring enterprizes. Nature had beſtowed on Cleomenes an extenſive genius, with a degree of reſolute ambition ſuperior to every obſtacle. The firſt ſteps of his intended reformation were to ſeparate the Ephori from being a part of the legiſlature, and baniſhing thoſe affluent citizens whoſe intereſt would lead them to controvert his meaſures. Theſe were followed by an equal diviſion of lands—the abolition of debts; and, taking advantage of the popular opinion, which conſidered him as the efficient cauſe of this revolution in property, he centred all authority in his own perſon; reſtoring ſome wiſe laws, under the ſanction of a tyrant, diſſembling, faithleſs, and iniquitous.

This addreſs of the monarch, ſeconded by a kind of enthuſiaſtic admiration in the ſubjects, impowered him to undertake a ſcheme of importance. The firſt object of his attention was to regain that pre-eminence in Greece, once the acknowledged right of Lacedæmon: this the Achaians now poſſeſſed: he therefore directed the force of his arms againſt them. Aratus immediately diſcerned that the powers in alliance with him could not be equally intereſted in ſupporting the league againſt Sparta, as againſt Macedon. It certainly was very immaterial to the kings of Syria and Egypt whether each of the Peloponneſian cities governed the reſt in alternate ſucceſſion, provided the affairs of Macedon ſuffered no revolution. Perhaps it would not have been bad

policy

policy in thoſe princes to have favoured the deſigns of a republick, who by the re-inſtatement of her ancient authority and glory, muſt have been more capable of defending the independency of Greece from Macedonian encroachments, than was in the power of the Achaian league to accompliſh.

Had the reliance of Aratus on the aſſiſtance of his allies been more ſanguine than it was, what an expence of time muſt have been loſt in negotiation! Whilſt the active, diligent, and indefatigable Cleomenes was puſhing on the war with vigour and celerity — not ſuffering a moment to paſs unemployed.

Suppoſing even that the courts of Syria and Egypt had demonſtrated their alacrity to aſſiſt the Achaians, it appears to me that Aratus would have acted very imprudently to invite foreign troops into Peloponneſus! Certain it is, the Macedonians could not have beheld their arrival without emotion.

The preſence of their avowed enemy in the heart of Greece muſt have occaſioned an exertion of military ſtrength; for inactivity, at ſuch a criſis, had rendered them deſpicable, and been a tacit encouragement to ſubdue a defenceleſs adverſary. The only method of preſervation that good policy could have preſented, was a cloſe connection with Sparta. Thus the war had been again perſonal amongſt the ſucceſſors of Alexander, and Greece again expoſed to the ſame rapine and devaſtation from which ſhe was ſcarcely freed. The auxiliaries now become principals, whoever was ſucceſsful, victory had certainly been abuſed in the oppreſſion of the Lacedemonians, Achaians, or of Peloponneſus in general.

We can hardly, I apprehend, be too laviſh in our commendations of Aratus for having recourſe to the aſſiſtance of

Macedon at this unfortunate conjuncture. [b] Plutarch indeed thinks differently. "Aratus, ſays he, ought to have "ceded every thing to Cleomenes, rather than have filled "Peloponneſus a ſecond time with Macedonian ſoldiers. "Conſider the origin of that prince — was he not a deſcen- "dant of Hercules? a native of Lacedemon? It had been "more glorious for Peloponneſus to have obeyed, the laſt "of the Spartans than a king of Macedon!"

But has not Plutarch too eaſily perſuaded himſelf of the practicability of prevailing on the Achaians to acknowledge the power of Cleomenes? Let us refer ourſelves to the relation of Polybius, a writer almoſt cotemporary, and the moſt ſagacious and penetrating hiſtorian of antiquity. From him we learn that this prince, odious to Greece, was with reaſon conſidered as the tyrant of his country.

In vain did his partiſans, men whom he had reſcued from the jaws of poverty, attempt his vindication, by the example of Lycurgus; who was obliged to have recourſe to ſome degree of violence before he could eſtabliſh a thorough reformation in the legiſlature and manners of Sparta. In Lycurgus we recognize the father of his country. Totally diſintereſted in this arduous enterprize, he was ſelf-devoted to patriotiſm, and the taſk of rendering a people virtuous. How different was the character of Cleomenes! a tyrant whoſe endeavour was not to eradicate, but alter the vices of the

[b] Though Plutarch undoubtedly is one of the beſt hiſtorians of antiquity, and in many parts of his works inimitable, the learned reproach him with ſometimes failing in recollection: nor can it be denied that he will relate the ſame fact in two different manners. Thoſe who are converſant in political affairs, if I am not miſtaken, will allow, that he was not a very refined politician. He gives a proof of this in his reflections on the conduct of Aratus. Theſe I have undertaken to confute, nor ſhall I ſcruple taking the ſame liberty whenever there is occaſion: a circumſtance I am glad to inform the reader of, who by entertaining a falſe idea of the characters of ſome of the great men of Greece, from the obſervations of that hiſtorian, may be apt to accuſe me of miſrepreſentation.

the citizens, and who ſacrificed the moſt valuable conſiderations to ambition and ſelf-love.

Had this prince even reſembled the portrait Plutarch has drawn of his virtues, had he been magnanimous, eager in purſuit of glory, munificent, abhorring injuſtice, and regarding his ſubjects as his children, ſtill the hiſtorian could never have pointed out a method of action ſufficiently powerful to induce the Achaian confederacy to ſubmit to his hero. I know not if there ever was a period when the influence of virtue was deſpotic over the minds of men! but under the prætorſhip of Aratus, the golden age was regarded as a fable of antiquity.

Could Plutarch, ſo diſcerning an inveſtigator of the human heart, be ignorant, that a free people will never make a voluntary reſignation of their independency? and that rather then obey the commands of a uſurping arbitrary invader, they will raiſe a domeſtic tyrant of their own? Such is the diſpoſition of humanity! Add to this, that the Achaian league was compoſed of cities preferring rather to be buried in ruins, than ſuffer the mortifying vexation of renouncing their profeſſed and inveterate hatred to Sparta. Polybius poſitively aſſures us, that if Aratus had not ſolicited an alliance with Macedon, the Meſſenians and Megalopolitans were determined upon the ſame ſtep, previous to a ſeparation from the confederates. But ſuppoſing Aratus, as impolitic as the writer who accuſes him, had ſown diſſention in the league by a propoſal of veſting ſovereign authority in Cleomenes, the conſequence of his fruitleſs efforts to conciliate the minds of the citizens and preſerve unanimity muſt have terminated in a civil war. Would the king of Macedon, even if not one city had applied for protection, have remained an unconcerned ſpectator of the quarrel? ſuch

credulity is abuſed! He would undoubtedly have taken the apparent advantage of a circumſtance ſo favourable to his ambition; and, by offering to become an umpire, in her exhauſted ſtate, have made himſelf maſter of Greece.

What principally ſeems to have miſled Plutarch's judgment in this affair ſeems to be, that Antigonus, [i] ſurnamed Doſon, after the total defeat of Cleomenes at Teleſia, which ruined the [k] Lacedemonians, invaded in ſome meaſure the rights of Peloponneſus, by placing garriſons at Corinth and Orchomenus. This no doubt endangered the liberty of the Achaians, but is that a ſufficient motive for our condemnation of Aratus? So unfortunate is the ſituation of a ſtateſman, that his political conduct is frequently arraigned, though he has ſometimes no choice to make but between two uneligible plans of action. Aratus prevented the deſtruction of his country, and is cenſured becauſe the Achaians, to avoid ruin, ſought an alliance with the court of Macedon!

The treaty ratified between this able politician and Antigonus Doſon, will be regarded as the moſt deſirable circumſtance for Greece as well as Macedon, if we are attentive to the approaching alteration in their political intereſt. From the time of Hannibal's penetrating into Italy to proſecute a war which was to decide the fate of Rome and Carthage,

[i] This prince, on whom moſt hiſtorians beſtow the title of king, aſſumed only that of regent of the kingdom during the minority of Philip, the ſon of Demetrius.

[k] Cleomenes, deſtitute of farther reſources in Laconia, was obliged to take refuge in Egypt, where his life ended deplorably. His flight was ſucceeded by the return of the exiles; and a re-eſtabliſhment of the Ephori: a man, whoſe name was Lycurgus, not one of the Heraclidæ, bought the crown at the price of a talent to each of thoſe magiſtrates. The republick, ſays Polybius, oppreſſed with calamities, torn with inteſtine diſorders — its property confuſed with frequent diviſions of land, and the baniſhment of its citizens, at length yielded to the tyranny of Nabis.

thage, emulation and contention ought to have ſubſided in the two rival republicks — ſolicitude for ſelfiſh advantages, or extenſion of conqueſt, ought to have been loſt in their contemplation of Hannibal as a common enemy, whoſe aggrandizement would be equally fatal to the liberties of Greece with the victories of Cyrus, in former ages. Theſe reciprocal apprehenſions ought to have been productive of reciprocal concord. Agelas of Naupactum, obſerving the unintereſted curioſity with which the Greeks beheld the ſecond Punic war, exclaimed, "How earneſtly is it to "be wiſhed that the Gods would now inſpire us with ſen- "timents of harmony and unanimity; ſuch as by a conjunc- "tion of ſtrength, freedom, and country, might raiſe a bul- "wark capable of repelling the incurſions of theſe barbari- "ans. It does not require great political talents to foreſee "that the conqueror, whether Roman, or Carthaginian, "will hardly reſtrain his ambition within the limits of Italy "and Sicily!—The circle is too contracted — He will pene- "trate into Greece — and if the cloud which threatens "from the Weſtern hemiſphere ſhould burſt over our heads, "freedom of choice is no more — we can neither make "war nor peace but in obedience to our maſter."

To juſtify the well-grounded predictions of Agelas, the Roman genius is to be conſidered, and the cauſes of the grandeur of that ambitious people inveſtigated; who ſoaring from the moſt abject, to the moſt elevated ſtate of human glory, from the nature and principles of their government, were ſtimulated to extend their empire: and whoſe reſtleſs ſpirit never ceaſed to conquer whilſt the earth afforded any nations to ſubdue, or till they themſelves became vanquiſhed by proſperity. Univerſal monarchy was in reality the point at which they aimed.

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The tendency of all their inſtitutions was the formation of a martial race, abhorrent of repoſe; becauſe war, far from exhauſting their ſtrength, invigorated their troops, and multiplied their riches. From infancy they contracted a habitude of intermeddling in the affairs of nations with whom they were entirely unconnected.

To have them for a neighbour or an enemy was ſynonymous terms; and the methods they purſued in the reduction of Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia, made it evident no conſiderations could reſtrain that luſt of dominion which impelled them to conquer Greece and Macedonia, after the deſtruction of Carthage.

" Neither Macedon nor Greece, continued Agelas, addreſſing himſelf to Philip, can ever, ſeparately, reſiſt the " arms of the victor: We have occaſion for your aſſiſtance againſt theſe barbarian nations. The Gods have " appointed you the protector of our liberty — take advantage of their favour — but, in defending Greece, remember you are defending Macedon! That kingdom will " reap, in its turn, reciprocal bleſſings from a friendſhip " neceſſary to its grandeur and reputation. Good faith is " the only policy worth regarding. Should the Greeks " once ſuſpect you of ſupinely beholding their country ravaged by foreigners, from an expectation of finding it afterwards an eaſy prey to your own ambition, I will venture to pronounce the ſentence of your deſtruction. The " bond of amity once broken, our cities will contract alliances with the barbarians.—The ſweetneſs of revenge " will urge them to facilitate their own ruin, that they may " enjoy the completion of yours. "

In this critical conjuncture, Philip ſhould have made Themiſtocles his model. For though he had not a Xerxes,

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a Mardonius, or effeminate Aſiatic ſquadrons to oppoſe, he commanded an army of ſoldiers whoſe military talents were capable of ſtriking even Roman legions with aſtoniſhment, had he perſevered in thoſe maxims of prudence and moderation inculcated by Antigonus Doſon; maxims that rendered the commencement of his reign illuſtrious.

Nature, ſay the hiſtorians of that age, aſſembled in Philip all the virtues that do honour to a throne. His underſtanding was penetrating, lively and comprehenſive. The courage of the hero was ſo tempered with the affability of the man, that he pleaſed and enchanted the hearts of his people, and was equally the object of their love and admiration. Fond of glory to exceſs, he yet believed it incompatible with injuſtice. The wiſe moderation of his conduct prevented every ſuſpicion that might have awakened the vigilance of the Greeks. Amazing, that ſuch a conſtellation of virtues ſhould diſappear ſo inſtantaneouſly! a phenomenon (if I may be allowed the expreſſion) ſo much the more aſtoniſhing, as this prince's firmneſs of character had been proved when ſurrounded with courtiers whoſe deſpicable morals were an invincible obſtacle to their advancement, till they could debaſe the ſentiments of their maſter to a level with their own.

Demetrius of Phares flattered the ambition of Philip, by repreſenting the conqueſt of Italy as an eaſy acquiſition after the battle of Cannæ. The Romans, were he to be credited, could never recover the blow their arms had ſuſtained; whilſt it was impoſſible for the general of a republick ſo ill-governed as that of Carthage, to make the proper advantages of victory. Philip, ſolely engroſſed by this idea, neglected his conqueſts in Ætolia. Inſtead of laying waſte a country of which he was entirely maſter, and razing the

cities

cities of a nation deteſtable to Greece, ever fraudulent in treaties, and from its ſituation capable of interrupting the good intelligence ſubſiſting between Peloponneſus and Macedon, this monarch eagerly offered terms of accommodation. A peace with Ætolia was haſtily concluded, that he might be at liberty to purſue his project in Italy.

Thus detached from the intereſts of Greece, Philip could not have taken a more ſagacious ſtep than to connect himſelf with Hannibal. For it certainly correſponded with his own views that this general ſhould ſubvert the Roman empire; or at leaſt reduce it to ſuch a ſtate of humiliation, as might prevent its interference with other powers. It was policy to favour the leaſt dangerous, and leaſt enterprizing enemy, whoſe ſucceſs evidently appeared dependant on the genius of Hannibal. In a government defective in manners, order, and wiſdom, the ſame degree of power might be lodged in hands unequal to the enterprize.

If conſiderations like theſe determined Philip to form an alliance with Hannibal, they ought likewiſe to have prevented his being intimidated by the menaces of the Romans, on hearing of this treaty. Their reſentment ſhould have pointed out more forcibly the intereſt he had in facilitating their deſtruction, in ſeconding the deſigns of Hannibal, and even ſupplying him with thoſe ſuccours the dilitary councils of the Carthaginians neglected to furniſh.

But intoxicated with the expectation of a facile eſtabliſhment in Italy, the inſults of a Roman fleet convinced him of his error. Fear ſucceeded to confidence. He repented the engagements with Hannibal — renounced them without ſubſtituting any thing more eligible. He even purſued meaſures the moſt pernicious to his crown. Apprehending an attack from the Romans, inſtead of preparations of defence,

defence, he forgot the wiſe remonſtrances of Agelas, and fancied the reduction of Greece, the only method of augmenting his ſtrength. He was induſtrious in ſowing new diſſenſions in her cities, and inflaming the former ones, till he could meet with a favourable moment to enſlave them.

Finding the Meſſenians perplexed with domeſtic conteſts, —"Have not you laws, would he ſay to the nobles, to re-"ſtrain the tide of popular inſolence? Are your arms en-"feebled, addreſſing himſelf to the multitude, that they "refuſe to do you juſtice on your tyrants?" Univerſal complaints broke forth againſt the perfidy of Macedon. Her allies were converted into enemies. The Achaians took the field under the conduct of that great general, Philopœmon, who was ſtyled the laſt of the Greeks, and defended their liberties more courageouſly than Greece had reaſon to expect. Philip, finding inſurmountable impediments to the execution of his project, is reduced to abandon Italy to the Carthaginians, and direct his attention to the turn of affairs in Greece. He foreſees himſelf inevitably expoſed to the attacks of two formidable adverſaries — The ſad reverſe of Fortune embitters his ſoul — He hearkens only to the ſuggeſtions of rage, and becomes, by degrees, the moſt inſupportable of tyrants!

The Romans ſtill preſerved that inflexible ſtrictneſs of manners which had rendered their name ſo illuſtrious, when the Ætolians, miſguided by averſion to Philip, as well as to the Athenians and Achaians, invited them to revenge the oppreſſions they ſuffered from Macedon. Enriched with the ſpoils of Carthage, Rome had a fund ſufficient to ſupport the moſt diſtant and extenſive war.

Poverty, and the laws were reſpected by her citizens; the moſt perfect unanimity ſubſiſted among their different

ranks; the impending danger they had eſcaped by the defeat of *Hannibal*, added new force to the ſprings of government; the *Romans*, in fine, were more than ever convinced that no difficulties were really inſurmountable to troops, actuated by the love of glory, true valour, and unwearied patience. Whoever has the ſlighteſt knowledge of the ſecond *Punic* war, muſt be ſenſible of the vaſt diſproportion of a *Roman* army, re-enforced by ſome of the *Grecian* ſtates, oppoſed to the forces of *Philip*! That prince was entirely defeated, and conſtrained to ſubſcribe to terms of peace that deprived him of all his acquiſitions in *Greece*, and left him deſtitute of ſhips, and money.

From this æra, the Romans in their intercourſe with the republicks of Greece, exerted all the arts of that refined and ſagacious policy which had already deceived and betrayed ſo many nations. Under the pretext of re-inſtating each city in its ancient laws and government, they in reality deſtroyed all poſſibility of a general aſſociation. They employed the Greeks themſelves to enſlave Greece; and ſuffered their own vices to undermine the foundations of liberty, before they overturned it by military force. They had zealous partizans in every ſtate, whom gold ſeduced, and attached to their intereſt.

Hiſtory has tranſmitted to us the names of ſeveral of theſe infamous traitors, who ſucceſſively betrayed the intereſts of their fellow citizens and of their country; became the architects of tyranny; publickly declaring the Romans to be the ſole arbiters of juſtice, laws, manners and cuſtoms. In every petty diſſenſion that aroſe, the republick of Rome offered its mediation, recommending peace, becauſe it reſerved to itſelf the ſole privilege of making war; favoured them with counſel; ventured ſometimes even to preſcribe it; but

but always carefully concealed the motives of ambition under the ſpecious appearance of publick good.

The Ætolians, who had flattered themſelves with the proſpect of great advantages, in favouring the Roman arms againſt Philip, too late perceived they were likely to gain no other recompence than a prohibition of longer diſturbing the tranquillity of Greece, by their depredations. To be reduced to the neceſſity of either periſhing by famine, or ſubmitting to the taſk of honeſt induſtry and labour, for ſupplying the loſs of plunder, appeared to them an inſupportable as well as tyrannical alternative.

But the yoke being already too heavy to be ſhaken off without foreign aſſiſtance, they diſpatched emiſſaries to the court of Syria to engage Antiochus to take arms againſt the Romans. The loſs of Aſia-Minor was the conſequence of his defeat; and the Greeks, deſtitute of reſources, were from that time, encompaſſed by Roman provinces on every ſide.

The firſt uſe the conquerors made of their victory was to cruſh the Ætolians — to whom they granted peace on the following conditions: That their forces ſhould always be ready to march in obedience to the commands of Rome; that they ſhould never directly, or indirectly, aſſiſt her enemies, or thoſe of her allies. The Ætolian league engaged to pay the Romans two hundred talents, and were bound in the farther payment of three hundred more, within ſix years. Forty of the principal citizens were ſent to Rome, and the ſelection of magiſtrates was reſtrained within the circle of theſe hoſtages.

Thoſe cities in the confederacy that had diſapproved the alliance with Antiochus were declared free. The Romans alſo granted to the Acarnanians, as a reward of their fidelity, the

city and territories of the Æniades. Incapacitated to invade their neighbours, the Ætolians, ſays Polybius, turned their fury againſt each other, and carried their domeſtick diſcord to the extremeſt degree of violence. In this manner revenging their inhumanity to the Greeks, by making their own country the ſcene of injuſtice, confuſion, ſlaughter, and aſſaſſination.

The overthrow of Perſeus was a parallel misfortune to Greece, and rivetted ſtill cloſer the fetters of ſlavery. It became cuſtomary for the Roman ſenate to cite before it ſuch cities as were at variance with each other; the advice offered was couched in the moſt amicable and modeſt terms, but the Greeks ſoon experienced diſapprobation was an unpardonable offence. In the midſt of this univerſal ſubjection, the republick of Achaia was ſingular in picquing itſelf on ſome veſtiges of liberty and independency, ſtill regulating its civil affairs, and even daring to form alliances without conſulting Rome. "If what the Romans require of us, ſaid the "Achaians who had caught the ſpirit of Philopœmon, is "conformable to the laws, to juſtice, and to the faith of ſub-"ſiſting treaties, let us not heſitate a moment to pay them "a proper deference! But if their pretenſions wound our "cuſtoms and liberties, let us explain the reaſons why we "cannot ſubmit to their opinion. Should remonſtrance, "ſupplication,—civil rights—all prove inefficacious, let us "invoke the Gods to witneſs their injuſtice. But let us, "my countrymen, perſevere in our integrity, and cede to "compulſion alone!"

This compound of ſubmiſſion and firmneſs, of timidity and courage, raiſed ſuſpicions concerning the conduct of the Achaians; and, in the nouriſhment of a paſſion for unexiſting liberty, without ſupplying materials to rekindle its aſhes, only accelerated their ruin. The Romans no ſooner foreſaw

foreſaw the ſlighteſt appearance of danger, than they guarded againſt the fickleneſs of fortune. They apprehended that the loftineſs of the Achaians, if not ſuppreſſed, might become contagious in Greece, and revive the flame of its ancient freedom. Beſides, the Roman republick was arrived at too exalted a point of elevation, not to confound remonſtrances with revolt;—to complain was a failure of reſpect.—Such citizens of Achaia as were diſtinguiſhed by inflexible integrity, and an unſhaken attachment to the intereſts of their country, were condemned to baniſhment.

This example of ſeverity, calculated to root out oppoſition, or at leaſt ſuppreſs its murmurs, on the contrary, inflamed the minds of the Peloponneſians. They broke into loud exclamations of ſorrow and diſcontent; and, as if deſirous of progreſſively oppoſing the Romans, they familiarized themſelves to ſpeak of them in terms of deriſion; attributing their greatneſs to the caprice of fortune—not to their own conduct.—This opinion, however irrational, was very extenſive in its influence, and ſoon perceptible in the ſubſequent quarrel between Sparta and Achaia.

The republick of Rome appointed commiſſioners to examine into the cauſe of this diſagreement; whoſe inſtructions authorized them to weaken the Achaians, by detaching from their alliance as many cities as would be influenced by their repreſentations; particularly Sparta, Argos, Corinth, Orchomenus, and Heraclea. The haughtineſs of the Achaians induced them to treat the Roman deputies with ſome degree of contempt. Their republick, whoſe refined policy ſo well underſtood the art of precipitating the wiſeſt and moſt circumſpect nations down the ſteep, whilſt it feigned to ſupport them with the arm of friendſhip, diſſembled all reſentment of this affront. Other commiſſioners were nominated,

nated, who had orders to behave with the utmoſt mildneſs; and by gentle perſuaſions invite the Achaians to recall their troops, and forbear hoſtilities, already commenced, in the territories of Sparta.

By this exceſs of moderation, Rome ſought to throw the whole odium of rupture upon the Achaians, as a juſtification of the rigorous ſeverity they meditated. The conduct of the one was artful diſſimulation, of the other open inſolence. Dicus, and Critolaus were then chief magiſtrates, and are repreſented by Polybius as worthleſs men, whoſe empire was abſolute over the minds of thoſe citizens contemptible for depravity of manners; or whoſe extravagance reduced them to a ſtate of penury that had nothing to fear from a revolution. Theſe two perſons perſuaded their countrymen that the affected gentleneſs of the Romans was the production of fear; that occupied with a third war, againſt a nation ſo powerful as the Carthaginian, they firſt endeavoured to impoſe on Greece by a ſuperb embaſſy — but this method not availing, a ſecond commiſſion was appointed, whoſe proceedings plainly evinced they did not dare run the hazard of new enemies, and even repented having weakened by their tyranny the influence they had acquired in Greece. "Since Rome trembles, ſaid theſe men, this is the moment "of reſiſtance! We muſt either irrecoverably bid adieu to "liberty, or ſnatch this opportunity to confirm and "ſtrengthen it." Theſe ſentiments penetrated the hearts of their auditors, and the ſecond deputation was equally unſucceſsfull with the firſt.

Metellus, who commanded in Macedonia, did every thing to diſſipate the miſt that blinded the Achaians, and recall them to ſubmiſſion; but finding his efforts fruitleſs, he ordered his legions to march. Unprepared as Achaia was for war,

war, the two armies came to an engagement in Locrida: notwithſtanding the great ſhock the Achaians ſuſtained, they did not deſpair. Critolaus was ſlain, and Dicus his colleague aſſumed the command of the army; collected its ſcattered, vanquiſhed remains, marſhalled the ſlaves, and thought himſelf yet in a ſtate of courting Fortune once more in the field.

Metellus, who continued his march towards Corinth, was indefatigable in offering the Achaians freſh propoſitions of peace, till the command of the forces devolved on Mummius.

That conſul, as memorable for the ruſticity of his manners, and ignorance in the polite arts that captivated Greece, as for his ferocious treatment of its inhabitants, gained a complete victory.

The general conſternation after the battle, was equal to the raſh confidence and impatience that inſtigated the Achaians to engage an enemy ſo ſuperior in ſtrength. The moſt eligible ſtep remaining for the fugitive troops, was to have thrown themſelves into Corinth, regarded as the key to Peloponneſus, where by a vigorous reſiſtance, there was a chance of obtaining an honourable capitulation. But the Achaian ſoldiers, fearing the proximity of the victor, fled in confuſion toward the interior parts of Peloponneſus; whilſt the Corinthians, infected by their panic, abandoned their own city. Mummius delivered it up to pillage — the remaining citizens were put to the ſword — their wives and children ſold for ſlaves — the magnificent city of Corinth was reduced to aſhes — and the liberty of the Greeks entombed beneath its ruins. The walls and fortifications of the cities engaged in this laſt ſtruggle were demoliſhed — popular government was univerſally aboliſhed — Greece became a province

vince to Rome — governed by a præter — and henceforth ſtyled the province of Achaia. Such was the cataſtrophe of, perhaps, the moſt illuſtrious nation of antiquity, whoſe reputation excited the jealouſy of the Romans themſelves!

Surely no inſtitution ever preſented human reaſon with a more noble or more ſublime ſpectacle than the republick of Lacedæmon! For the ſpace of ſix hundred years the laws of Lycurgus were obſerved with the moſt religious fidelity. Where ſhall we find a race of men ſo attached to virtue as the Spartan? that ever exhibited ſuch a ſucceſſion of glorious examples of moderation, patience, fortitude, juſtice, and patriotiſm! In reading the hiſtory of that people we catch their elevation of ſoul — our faculties ſeem to expand beyond thoſe narrow limits in which the degeneracy of the age reſtrains our feeble virtues.

Notwithſtanding what has been advanced by the judicious Salluſt, who, ſtudious to diminiſh the glory of the Greeks, attributes its principal luſtre to the genius and embelliſhments of thoſe [*l*] eminent writers who have eternized the actions of their heroes, can we regard the commonalty of Greece without acknowledging repeated inſtances of more than human fortitude?

The battles of Marathon, Thermopylæ, Salamin, Platæa, Mycale — the retreat of the ten thouſand — and that inexhauſtible ſeries of heroic actions ſpringing from the boſom of Greece, during the courſe of her inteſtine wars, are they not ſuperior to all the elogiums of hiſtorians? But the peculiar

[*l*] Athenienſium res geſtæ ſicuti ego exiſtimo, ſatis amplæ magnificæque fuere, verum aliquanto minores tamen, quam famâ feruntur. Sed quia provenere ibi ſcriptorum magna ingenia per terrarum orbem facta pro maximis celebrantur, ita eorum qui ea fecere virtus tanta habetur, quantum verbis eam potuere extollere præclara ingenia. *Sal: in conj. Cal.*

culiar obligation we owe to Greece is for furniſhing hiſtory with thoſe ſublime characters which are its greateſt ornament, and whoſe memory ought to be eternal as their glory.

I do not except the republick of Rome, a government in all its conſtituent parts ſo admirably calculated to inſpire the ardour of genius — to animate talents into action — and place them in the moſt dazzling point of luſtre and obſervation!—Yet whom have they to compare with a Lycurgus — a Themiſtocles — an Epaminondas? Properly ſpeaking, the grandeur of Rome was fabricated by that republick, conſidered collectively. There are no inſtances of any ſingle Roman ſuperior to the manners of his country, or the wiſdom of its legiſlature! No exalted ſpirit who ſtrikes out new lights, and eſtabliſhes new ſyſtems!

Each individual of Rome borrows his ſagacity and magnanimity from thoſe of the ſtate — he purſues the beaten track — and the greateſt men among them only advance a few paces beyond their compatriots. But in Greece how obvious the difference! There, I frequently behold thoſe amazingly powerful, creative geniuſes whoſe undaunted reſolution repels the torrent of cuſtom --- whoſe diſcernment ſees, and provides for the various exigencies of ſtate --- who open to themſelves an untracked road to Fame --- penetrating into futurity, and by a kind of intuitive glance becoming maſters of all events!

Had extraordinary talents and merit been leſs diffuſed among the Greeks, the part they acted in the political theatre of the world might have been more conſiderable. Had only one commonwealth of Greece poſſeſſed the diſpoſitions that render a people lofty, courageous, powerful, ambitious, and formed for dominion, ſhe would have reduced the neighbouring ſtates, as Rome did Italy, and had probably

ſhone as conſpicuouſly in the annals of glory. But as ſeveral of their inſtitutions were almoſt equal in wiſdom, and every republick enjoyed independency, their ſituation led them to comparative views of internal ſtrength and vigour that are inſeparable from a love of power. Solely engroſſed by civil contentions, they exhauſted and ruined one another, from that balance of military excellence and experience, apparent in their ſoldiers, generals, and ſtateſmen. The Romans, it is true, conquered the world; but would they ever have emerged from their primæval obſcurity, if, in their firſt eſſays, they had been oppoſed by a republick equal to Sparta or Athens?

In paſſing under the Roman dominion, Greece ſtill preſerved a very honourable aſcendency over her conquerors --- Her knowledge of the arts, and taſte for polite literature, amply revenged the defeat of her arms, and, in their turn, ſubdued the pride of the Romans. The victors condeſcended to become the diſciples of the vanquiſhed, in the ſtudy of a language enriched by Homer, Pindar, Thucydides, Xenophon, Demoſthenes, Plato, and Euripides, with all the embelliſhments and graces of their enlarged ideas. Some of the Roman orators, who had already unfolded to their countrymen the charms of eloquence, now ſought to extract from Greece that refined and delicate taſte which regulates genius --- thoſe ſecret rules of art that encreaſe its energy in correcting its luxuriance. The model of perfection was completely formed in thoſe ſeminaries of philoſophy, where the moſt diſtinguiſhed citizens of Rome, diveſting themſelves of prejudice, learned to honour the Greeks --- tranſporting into their own country that gratitude and admiration which induced the republick to lighten the weight of bondage; fearing to abuſe the rights of victory, they favoured them

them with diſtinguiſhed privileges and immunities beyond any of the conquered provinces. What a triumph for erudition to have preſerved the peculiar ſpot of its cultivation ſacred from calamity, when Legiſlators — Magiſtrates — Generals, were unable to defend it! What a glorious exultation over the inſolent ſcorn of ignorance! and what a demonſtrative proof that ſcience will ever be venerated by men as accurate and competent judges of its merit as the Romans.

FINIS.

THE HISTORY OF THE CITY of PARIS; OR

Anecdotes concerning the origin and improvements of that celebrated Capital.

Tranſlated from MONSIEUR DE ST. FOIX.

1763.

THAT the city of Paris has for many ages paſt carried on an extenſive and flouriſhing commerce; that from time immemorial a ſhip has been its ſymbol; that the Goddeſs *Iſis* preſided over navigation; and that amongſt the ancient *Suevae* ſhe was even worſhipped under the repreſentation of a ſhip, are more reaſons than etymologiſts commonly want to perſuade them that the derivation of the word Pariſii is from παρὰ Ἴσιδος, near Iſis. The ſimilarity of the characters in the *Greek* and *Celtic* language ſeems a proof of their having been originally the ſame; but though I do not take upon me to ſupport the certainty of this etymology, yet I cannot help obſerving that Moreau de Mautour is undoubtedly (*a*) miſtaken in aſſerting that Iſis was never worſhipped by the *Gauls*; not even after their reduction by the *Romans*; for it is univerſally known that her prieſts had a ſeminary at *Iſſi*, and that the church of *St. Vincent*, ſince

Lactantius Apuleius, Tacitus de moribus Germ. C. 9.

Hiſt. de l'Acad. des Inſcrip. T. 3. p. 296.

(*a*) *D. Martin (Religion des Gaulois; Tom. 2. p. 131.)* proves it by monuments of antiquity, that this Academician could not poſſibly be unacquainted with.

The city of *Melun*, dedicated to *Iſis*, changed its ancient name of MELODUNUM into that of ISIOS, or ISIA.

Jacobus Magni Abbon. Carmen. 3. L. 1.

ſince called *St. Germain des Prez*, was founded upon the ancient ruins of her (*b*) temple. The temple of * *Mars*, *Mercury*, or *Pluto*, (for amongſt the Gauls theſe were different names of the ſame divinity,) was erected on mount *Leucotitius*; and it will appear, in my remarks on the ſtreet *Coquilliere*, that *Cybele* was adorned near the ſpot were *St. Euſtachius* now ſtands: it muſt be obſerved, too, that what are now ſtreets, were anciently little groves in ſolitary ſituations, conſecrated to particular deities; for the *Gauls* built no temples till they were under the *Roman* government.

* Montmart.

The Carmelites in St. James's Street.

Cæſar is the firſt author who has taken notice of the *Pariſians*. They were one of the ſixty, or ſixty-four cantons, that conſtituted the republick of *Gaul*: collectively, forming one nation; though ſeparately, preſerving their independance. Every one of theſe cantons had its diſtinct laws, chiefs, and magiſtrates; and nominated, annually, its deputies to the general aſſembly; which was uſually held in the principal college of the *Druids*, ſituated in the midſt of a foreſt in *Chartrain*. The civil and political adminiſtration of affairs had been confided, for a long ſeries of years, to a female ſenate; whoſe members were elected by the ſeveral cantons; their deliberations determined peace, or war, and compoſed ſuch diſagreements as aroſe amongſt the *Vergobrets* †; or between the cities. According to *Plutarch*, one of the articles in *Hannibal*'s treaty with the *Gauls* runs thus: "If any *Gaul* hath ſubject of complaint againſt a *Carthaginian* he is to appear before the Carthaginian ſenate eſtabliſhed in Spain. Or if any Carthaginian finds himſelf injured by a *Gaul*, the matter ſhall be determined by the ſupreme council of Gallic women". The Druids, diſcontented with ſome decrees of this tribunal, employed the credit religion had given them over the minds of the people, with ſuch inſinuating artifice, that they reſolved to aboliſh it; and erected, in its ſtead, that of the Druids: whoſe power ſoon mounted to ſuch a height, as made them abſolute maſters in every debate that came before the General Aſſembly.

† Chief magiſtrates.

De Claris Mulierib.

They reſerved to themſelves the ſame prerogatives the women had claimed: from which they knew to draw advantages, that rendered the prieſthood the ſupreme part of the legiſlature, and compleated the deſtruction of all other authority, under the deſpotiſm of ſuperſtition. It has been an obſervation, that under female government the Gauls conquered Rome, and made Italy tremble; but, under the influence

(*b*) This temple of *Iſis* ſo famous, ſays Sauval, that the whole country adjacent was called after it, had a college of prieſts belonging to it, in a caſtle at Iſſi, according to the general opinion; the remains of which were ſtanding in the beginning of the preſent century.

fluence of prieſts, they were totally ſubdued by the *Romans:* and that Cæſar owed all his victories to the ſeeds of jealouſy and diſcord, ſown by the unremitting zeal of a *Druid*, the perfidious *Divitiacus*, in the principal cantons. The Pariſians defended their liberty with a reſolution that bordered on deſpair. Dreading to be inveſted in their iſland they made a vigorous ſally, after ſetting fire to their houſes, and haſtened to encounter the enemy, who had deceived them by a falſe march. The battle was fought below Meudon, and attended with a dreadful ſlaughter; the Gauls loſt the day, and with it their leader, the valiant *Camulogenus*, whom, notwithſtanding his extream old age, they had choſen to command the army.

De Bello Gallico. L. 7.

Propè confectus ætate.

Corrozet fancies that both the great and little Chatelet were built by *Cæſar*'s order; and Malengre, as well as Commiſſary de la Marre, tells us, that "*Lutetia* was called *Cæſar*'s city, from his having ſurrounded it with a wall, and embelliſhed it with new edifices". This paſſage is not to be found in *Boetius*, whom they both quote, but in a book attributed to *Scotus*, which cannot be any authority for ſuch an aſſertion; ſince from the time of *Cæſar* to that of *Julian*, (*c*) *Lutetia* is ſcarcely mentioned in hiſtory. *Julian* was proclaimed emperor there in 360, and Valentinian and Gratian both reſided there ſome time. In 570, Clovis called it the Capital of the conquered Provinces.

This prince's uſual reſidence was the palace of Termes, and it appears that all the firſt race of kings reſided there; which ſeems to have led the generality of writers into a miſtaken concluſion, that there was no palace within the walls. I ſhall ſpeak, hereafter, of the palace of Termes.

Without the walls.

In regard to that within the city, I ſhall only tranſcribe a paſſage from Gregory of Tours. "Childibert ſent a truſty meſſenger to *Clotairius*, "king of *Soiſſons*, to beg he would come to him immediately, that "they might reciprocally reſolve either to put their nephews to death, "or be contented with (*d*) degrading them from their rank by cutting "off their hair: Clotairius repaired to Paris with the utmoſt expedi-

Greg. Tur. Hiſt. Lib. 3. Cap. 18.

(*c*) Some writers ſay that Luh, in the Celtic language, ſignifies a river; Touez, in the middle; and Y, an habitation: ſo that Lutetia is derived from *Luhitouezy, a city in the midſt of a river*; becauſe *Lutetia*, or Paris, was built, originally, on an iſland in the Seine.

Mem. ſur la langue Celtique.

(*d*) *Inciſa cæſarie ut reliqua plebs habeantur.* The French cut their hair ſhort round the head, reſerving a long lock in the middle, which they braided, and faſtened into a knot upon the crown. None but princes of the blood royal were permitted to wear their hair long and flowing, or without being twiſted round the head; the hair of the conquered nations amongſt the Gauls, was always cropt ſhort to the neck: thus the hair became a diſtinguiſhing mark between the French, and their vaſſals; and to cut off the locks of a prince, or the ſingle lock of a Frenchman, was not only to degrade and cut him off from his family, but even from the whole nation.

" tion. Cauſing a rumour to be ſpread that the reſult of this conference " was, an order for proclaiming the ſons of *Clodomir* ſucceſſors to " the throne, they ſent to *Clotilda (who then reſided in the (e) city)* to " requeſt the preſence of the young † princes, that they might be BORNE UPON THE SHIELD. The good queen, in a tranſport of " joy, called them into her apartment, and having regaled them with " a repaſt, Go my children, (ſaid ſhe, embracing them affectionately) " go and viſit your uncles; if I live to ſee you ſeated on your father's " throne, I will ceaſe to remember the loſs of that dear ſon". Clotairius after ſtabbing them both with his own hand, mounted his horſe, with great compoſure, and returned to Soiſſons; Childibert withdrew into the ſuburbs. *In ſuburbana conceſſit.* Towards the end of the ſecond race of monarchs, Paris, always confined between two branches of a river, does not ſeem to have been more extenſive than in the time of Cæſar.

† The eldeſt was but ten years old.

The Cathedral on the eaſt, the Great and Little Chatelet to the north and ſouth, and the Palace of the Counts, or Kings, ‡ to the weſt, mark the boundaries of its extent. *Lutetia*, ſays *Cæſar*, *ſeated on an iſland of the Seine, is the city of the Pariſians. I paſt the winter*, (ſays *Julian*, who reigned 400 years after that conqueror of the Gauls) *in my dear Lutetia; it ſtands upon a ſmall iſland in the Seine, the entrance to which is by two bridges. Paris*, ſays *Abbon*, who lived 900 years after Cæſar, *is joined to the continent by two bridges; and at the extremity of each bridge is a caſtle, * on the outſide of the walls.*

* The Great and Little Chatelet.

After theſe authorities, few reflections are neceſſary to convince us how impoſſible it was for this city to arrive at a ſtate of opulence under ſuch circumſcribed limits. The devaſtation of *Gaul* by the barbarians; the bloody wars which *Clovis* engaged in to ſupport his eſtabliſhment; the diviſion of his conqueſts, after his deceaſe, into four kingdoms; *Orleans* and *Soiſſons* becoming the capitals of two of them; the total annihilation of commerce; joined to that contempt the French had for citizens, and indeed for every profeſſion but that of arms; are all circumſtances that will eaſily perſuade us the aggrandizement of Paris was impracticable under the firſt line of her kings. Under the ſecond we ſee it almoſt quite neglected; neither Pepin, Charlemagne, Louis the Debonair,

(e) *Quæ tunc in ipſa urbe morabatur.* There certainly was then a palace in the city where Clotilda lived, and educated the young princes.

‡ Now made uſe of as our Weſtminſter-hall: here are kept the courts of juſtice; here the parliament ſits; and here are the beſt and moſt ſplendid ſhops; hence 'tis often called le Palais des Marchands.

Debonair, Charles the Bald, or Louis the Stammerer reſided there, only occaſionally.

The emperor Julian ſeems to recollect with pleaſure the winter he paſt in *his dear Lutetia, &c.* He expatiates upon the ſoil, climate, vineyards, and the method uſed by the inhabitants in cultivating the fig-tree. Is there any probability that, after ſaying it ſtood upon a ſmall iſland, he would not have added "the ſuburbs are very extenſive", if in reality they had been ſo? ſo far from it, the manner he expreſſes himſelf in conveys a quite contrary ſuggeſtion.

The Pariſians, ſays this emperor, *dwelling in an iſland, can have no other water than that of the Seine.* This obſervation which, accidentally, has eſcaped all the commentators, appears to me ſtill more deciſive, becauſe Commiſſary de la Marre (who in another place has tranſlated the whole paſſage) ſeems to affect a forgetfulneſs of theſe words, which do not correſpond with his own conjectures. His *Treatiſe of Police* is a good work, but we muſt be upon our guard where he wanders from his ſubject. The walls round the city, deſcribed in a plan of it, during the reigns of the two laſt kings of the ſecond line, occaſions him to place a little town, *which he preſumes was built by the Romans*, on the oppoſite banks of the *Seine*, northwards. After a deſcription of the circumference of this wall, beginning near St. Gervais, forming a half circle behind the Greve from the St. Merri ſide, and ending at the bank of the river towards the Great Chatelet, he goes on, "Gregory of Tours particularizes, with great exactitude, all the prin-"cipal edifices and foundations that ſprung from the magnificence of "our kings; he enumerates all the conflagrations, inundations, and "other events which had contributed to change the appearance of Paris, "from the commencement of monarchical government. Could he "poſſibly forget to mention the enlargement of its bounds by a new "Encloſure? There is no likelihood he ſhould. Beſides Fredegaire, "Aimoin, (*f*) Sigibert, and ſeveral other hiſtorians who followed "his track in ſpeaking of the firſt and ſecond race of kings, and imi-"tated his preciſion in all that relates to Paris, preſerve the ſame ſilence "about this Encloſure; which undoubtedly affords great reaſon for "believing it a work of the Romans."

Julian imper. Miſepog.

Traité de la Police. T. 1. p. 87.

See his ſecond plan.

The extract I ſhall now give from the firſt book of (*g*) Abbon's Poem, will make it apparent that this Encloſure was ſo far from being a Roman work, that in fact it could not have been undertaken till near the concluſion

(*f*) Le Marre cites Sigibert, amongſt the hiſtorians of the ſecond race.——This writer lived in the time of Philip I. and Louis the Groſs.

(*g*) Abbon was in Paris during the ſiege in 886.

conclusion of the ninth century.—" Sigefroy, enraged at the obstacle " which opposed his entrance into the city, turned all his fury against
The Great Chatelet. " the citadel (*b*) that commanded the great bridge. *Eudes*, Count " of *Paris*, *Robert* his brother; the Counts *Raguenaire* and *Sibange*; " the bishops of Goslin and Eble; with the Abbé de St. Germain, " made so gallant a defence till night came on, that the Normans, " notwithstanding their having made several considerable breaches, " found themselves obliged to retreat with the loss of near five hundred " men.—They renewed the attack next day with equal fury — it lasted " again till night — but finding themselves constantly repulsed, they " resolved to dig a Fosse, and to fortify their camp with an entrench- " ment of stone and earth, in the (*i*) borough of St. Germain de l' " Auxerrois". This quotation is a proof that the wall or fortified enclosure, in question, was not standing in the year 886; *Abbon* would have mentioned it; and *Sigefroy* must have been under a necessity of giving the first assault there; as he could not have attacked the citadel without making a breach in this *wall*; whereas, we find that he marched on, without meeting any obstacle to interrupt him, till he came before the trenches of the Great Chatelet. My conjecture about the building of this wall is founded on what *Felibien*, and all the writers who have particularly applied themselves to study the history of Paris, are convinced of.

They are of opinion that the ground on which that part of the city now stands which is on the north side of the river, was formerly a forest. That the octagon tower, yet remaining in the corner of Innocents church-yard, was erected for a watch tower, to guard against the banditti who infested the forest; and the incursions of the Normans, who might probably form ambuscades of detached parties, and falling suddenly upon the people assembled in the market-place of the Greve, carry them away prisoners and pillage the port. I conclude, therefore, that the wall was also erected to prevent these sudden inroads; and that the Jews, who returned again into France, about this period, obtained permission to build habitations within the walls; and I look upon this to have been the origin of those dirty streets St. Bon, de la Tacheire, du Pet-au-Diable, *&c.* Certain it is they had a synagogue and schools in that quarter at the beginning of the third race of kings; nor was it till the

(*b*) Nempe ruunt omnes ratibus, turri properantes
Quam feriunt fundis aeriter, complentque sagittis.

(*i*) That quarter of the city was still called the borough, under the reign of Philip Augustus, 300 years after this siege; and the learned Menage makes this judicious distinction, that a borough is always separated from a city, whereas the suburbs are united to it.

the reign of Louis the Young that they had liberty to build in the * Champeaux; or in the neighbourhood of St. Opportune, then called the hermitage of our Lady of the Wood, from being placed at the entrance of the foreſt.

* Quartiers des Halles, or Market quarter.

The whole extent of ground between the Bulwarks, and within the northſide of the river, beginning at the arſenal, and continuing to the end of the Thuilleries, let us then imagine to have been a moraſs with a few ſcattered trees, the remains of a wood; ſmall fields, intermixed with (*k*) uncultivated lands, hedges and ditches, together with four or five towns at unequal (*l*) diſtances, compleated the ſcene. Near the Great Chatelet, and the Greve, run ſome very dirty ſtreets, with a large bridge *(the exchange bridge)* which led into a ſmall iſland, *(the city)* inhabited by prieſts, and a few tradeſmen, and mechanicks. There was alſo another bridge *(the little bridge)* which led to the ſouth-ſide; and beyond that and the Little Chatelet, were about three or four hundred houſes irregularly diſperſed on the banks of the river, and amongſt the vineyards which covered the ſides of the hill St. *Genevieve*. Such was the appearance of Paris during the æra of the firſt kings of the third line; and I believe whoever conſiders the manners of the times, with the variouſly combined cauſes that have ſince contributed towards its grandeur, will agree it could not in thoſe early days have made a more conſiderable figure. All the Tribunals of Juſtice, with their numerous dependancies, now eſtabliſhed, had then no exiſtence. The contending parties appeared before the Monarch, Count, or Viſcount, who heard the cauſe, paſſed a ſummary judgment on it, or, if it proved very intricate, gave orders for preparing the *Liſts*. There were no colleges. The biſhop and canons ſupported, at their own expence, ſome private ſchools, for the education of youth deſigned for holy orders. The Nobles regarded ignorance as one of their *privileges*. They ſeldom could write their own names; lived entirely upon their eſtates; and if they were at any time obliged to paſs three or four days in town, always appeared in boots leſt they ſhould be miſtaken for their vaſſals. Ten men were then thought ſufficient to gather the taxes: there were only two gates, and under Louis the Fat, the duties of the † Northgate did not

(*k*) The ſtreets Culture St. Catharine, and Culture St. Gervais, (which are pronounced *Coultures)* were ſo called from this word, ſignifying ſpots of land proper for cultivation.

(*l*) The boroughs of Thibouſt, L'Abbé, Beau, and the old and new St Germains de l'Auxerrois, were partly taken within the walls built by Philip Auguſtus which were finiſhed in 1121. The ſtreets of theſe boroughs ſtill retain their ancient names. De la Marre acknowledges they were divided from Paris and its ſuburbs by meadows, marſhes, and ploughed lands; by this we may judge of the ſmall extent of the ſuburbs, at that time.

† *(Tranſlator's Remark)* Paris is about 130 miles from the ſea, and there is but little traffick on the Seine. The Duties ariſe chiefly from tolls at the Gates.

not produce above twelve (*m*) Franks, or half a guinea, per annum. The moſt neceſſary arts were then unknown, to the imagination itſelf; and one may judge of the taſte of the people, in their public entertainments and diverſions, by the inelegance of their manners.

Paris had nothing to attract the attention of foreigners; to induce the induſtrious man to ſeek an eſtabliſhment; or tempt the rich and indolent to reſide in it. Philip Auguſtus, who loved (*n*) letters, encouraged and patronized men of learning. In this reign the Pariſian ſchools became ſo celebrated, that not only the provinces, but foreign nations ſent their youth to be educated. That quarter of the city, ſince called the univerſity, was in the 13th and 14th centuries very populous, and covered with colleges and convents. It was Philip the Fair who appointed regular ſeſſions of parliament. He alſo prohibited duels in civil cauſes, and allowed perſons to plead, without obliging them to fight. Whether, on the publication of this edict, the lawyers undertook cauſes with greater alacrity, I know not, but certain it is that Chicanry (introduced into France by her intercourſe with the Holy See under Clement V.) miraculouſly encreaſed the inhabitants; for by means of its followers, in leſs than half a century, the number of perſons in Paris, was at leaſt one thirtieth part augmented. Queen Anne of Brittany, noble and magnificent in all her plans, inſtituted publick drawing rooms. The ladies, who till then had only been born in one caſtle to marry and die in another, were introduced at court, liked Paris too well to return, and the men followed them there. The religious wars which raged under Charles IX. and Henry III. made money more plentiful by the ſacrilege of the Calviniſts: who plundered the churches, indiſcriminately converting holy vaſes, ſhrines, and images of ſaints into ſpecie. Whilſt the prodigality of the court of Spain, in laviſhing away ſo many millions to ſupport *the League*, enabled many of the citizens of Paris to live in eaſe and affluence. The ſtreets (*o*) Dauphine,

(*m*) The French *livre numeraire*, or numerical pound, was coined by Charlemagne; 20 ſols made a livre, and 12 deniers a ſol: ſo that one livre has always been equal to 240 deniers. The ſols and deniers were pure ſilver till the reign of Philip I. father of Louis the Groſs. In 1103, one third of copper was added; ten years after, one half; and under Philip of Valois, three quarters. By theſe adulterations they have decreaſed in value to ſuch a degree, that 20 ſols, which before the time of Philip I. made a livre (or pound) of pure ſilver, are not now above one third of an ounce in weight. According to ſome calculations Charlemagne was as wealthy with one million as Louis XV. with ſixty ſix. Twenty four pounds of white bread then coſt a denier; this denier was ſilver without alloy; let us then compute by the different intrinſic value of the preſent coin, whether the neceſſaries of life were more or leſs dear than at preſent; 12 livres in the time of Louis. the Groſs were worth (I believe) about 408 modern ones.

(*n*) Learning which ſeemed to revive under Charlemagne, was buried in oblivion by the ravages of the Normans, till the reign of Louis the Young, father of Philip Auguſtus.

(*o*) So named after the Dauphin, the Duke of Aujou, and Madame Chriſtina their ſiſter.

phine Chriſtine, and Anjou, which by order of Henry IV. were built upon part of the garden of the *Grand Auguſtines*; and the ruins of the abbey St. Dennis, are ſaid to have been finiſhed in leſs than a year. Henry was the firſt of our monarchs who ornamented Paris with ſquares, embelliſhed with the regular beauties of architecture. He likewiſe compleated the *Pont Neuf*, (or the New Bridge,) begun by Henry III. but the civil wars interrupted its progreſs. The other public works of this reign were *la Place Royal*, (or the Royal Square) on the ſpot were the Hotel des Tournelles had ſtood; and *la Place Dauphine*, (Dauphin Square) formed by joining two ſmall iſlands to the outward court of the palace, which had hitherto been ſeparated by a branch of the river, where Harlay ſtreet is now built.

Towards the concluſion of Cardinal Richelieu's adminiſtration France became totally united under one maſter. The petty tyrants of the provinces, who for ſo many years had oppoſed the regal authority in their fortified caſtles, now came to ſolicit an apartment at court, however mean or incommodious, with all the ſervility of dependence, erecting at the ſame time magnificent houſes in the city with all the pride of oſtentation. At length Louis XIV. aſcended the throne, and Paris no longer wanted ramparts! Her gates were converted into triumphal arches, and her foſſes into broad walks, ſhaded with trees. But, when we contemplate this monarch's reputation in the world; his forty years ſucceſsful campaigns; the great magnificence and dignity diſplayed in his amuſements; the reſources he had the art of extracting even from his expences; his taſte for ſcience, which yet ſerved only to augment his avidity for glory; when we extend our reflections ſtill farther to the public diverſions exhibited in time of peace, not only for the entertainment of his own ſubjects in the court, the city, and the country, but all the men of taſte in Europe, we are aſtoniſhed that Paris was not ſtill more adorned under ſuch a reign!

Of the Wall of PARIS, *begun in* 1190, *and finiſhed in* 1211, *in the reign of* PHILIP AUGUSTUS.

THE reader will pleaſe to obſerve, I am unavoidably obliged to mention the names of ſtreets, convents, and houſes, that had then no exiſtence; and that in the reign of St. Louis, grandſon of *Philip Auguſtus*, at leaſt one third of the ground, within the circumference of the wall, lay an uncultivated moraſs, appropriated to no uſe. From the North ſide of the river the walls ran along near the * Louvre, and leaving that on the outſide, croſſed the ſtreets St. Honore and Deux Ecus,

* It occupied much leſs ground than at preſent.

Ecus, the Hotel de Soiſſons, the ſtreets Coquilliere, Montmarte, Montorgueil, the Italian playhouſe, the ſtreets Françoiſe, St. Denis, Bourg l' Abbé and St. Martins, then continuing the length of Grenier St. Lazare, croſſed the ſtreets Beaubourg, and St. Avoye, to the Hotel de Meſmes; and paſſing the White Friars, went between the ſtreets Franc Bourgeois and Roſiers to the bank of the river, through the Jeſuits College, and the convent Ave Maria; where veſtiges of this wall are ſtill viſible. There were in this part of the wall eight principal gates. The firſt, on the banks of the river, near the Louvre: the ſecond, where the prieſts of the oratory live: the third, oppoſite to St. Euſtachius, between the ſtreets Platriere, and du Jour: the fourth, in St. Dennis's ſtreet, called the Painters Gate, where there is now an encloſed alley, which ſtill retains the name: the fifth, in St. Martin's ſtreet, at the corner of Grenier St Lazare: the ſixth, called * Barbette gate, divided white friars monaſtery, from Francs Bourgeois ſtreet: the ſeventh, near the Jeſuits College: and the eighth, on the banks of the Seine, between St. Paul's gate, and St. Mary's Bridge.

* The name of a family in Paris.

On the ſouth ſide of the river, the counter part of this wall, which began at St. Bernard's gate may be very (*p*) nearly traced with certainty. The foſſes of St. Bernard, St. Victor, and St. Michael, are now St. Hyacinth ſtreet: the foſſés Monſieur le Prince, and St. Germain, the French playhouſe now ſtands upon: and foſſé de Neſle is Mazarine ſtreet. This circuit included ſeven gates, St. Bernard's, or de la Tournelle, † St. Victor's, St. Marcel's, or St. James's, Gibard's d' Enfer, or St. Michael's, reaching to the upper end of Harpe ſtreet, near the fountain. (*q*) Buci gate was at the upper end of St. Andrew des arcs, oppoſite to one end of Counterſcarpe ſtreet; and de Neſle gate ſtood where the College of the four Nations is erected. In the ‡ Cordelier's ſtreet, juſt by the Fountain, there was a gate called St. Germains: and when Dauphin ſtreet was planned, a gate ‡ of that name was ſtill remaining, which fronted the other end of Counterſcarpe ſtreet.

† Taken down in 1684.

‡ Both taken down in 1672.

The ſtreets of Paris were not paved till the reign of Philip Auguſtus, 1184. Gerard de Poiſſi, a Financier, deſerves to have his name tranſmitted to poſterity, for his generous contribution towards this work, of 11000 marks of ſilver. A mark of ſilver, in the time of Philip Auguſtus, was 300 deniers: there are now 11952 deniers in a mark.

Of

(*p*) I ſay very nearly traced, as it is eaſy to form an exact idea of this part of the encloſure, by ſuppoſing the ſtreets hereafter mentioned, were built upon foſſes, which formerly encircled the wall.

(*q*) Named from Simon de Buci, Firſt Preſident; a title till then unknown. He died 1369.

Of the WALLS *and* FORTIFICATIONS, *begun by* CHARLES V. *and compleated under* CHARLES VI.

CHARLES V. made no alteration in the wall of Philip Auguſtus on the ſouth ſide; he only added a foſſé flanked with towers at right angles, which were not taken down till 1646. I have already ſaid that on the north ſide, the wall ended betwixt St. Paul's gate, and St. Mary's bridge, over againſt L' Etoile ſtreet. Charles extended it as far as the arſenal, and placed the gates St. Anthony, St. Martin, and St. Dennis, as they now ſtand. From St. Dennis's gate, the wall was continued along the ſtreet de Bourbon, interſecting thoſe of Petit Carreau and Montmarte, La Place des Victoires, L' Hotel de Toulouſe, the garden of the royal palace, St. Honoré's ſtreet, near the hoſpital Quinze Vingts, and terminating at the end of the ſtreet St. Nicaiſe, by the river ſide. At the four extremities of theſe walls, as in thoſe of Philip Auguſtus, were four large towers. *Du Bois* tower, near the Louvre, *de Neſle* tower, where the College of four Nations ſtands; that of *La Tournelle*, by St. Bernard's gate, where part of its ruins yet remain; and *de Billi* tower, cloſe to the monaſtery of the Céleſtins. The approach to the city, on both ſides of the river, was of difficult acceſs; by means of ſtrong chains faſtened from tower to tower, which croſſing the Seine were ſecured by bridges of boats placed at proper diſtances. The entrance to the *iſle of St. Louis* * was likewiſe defended by a fort. It was not till 1614, that they began to build houſes on this and another little iſland called *La petite Iſle aux Vaches*, or little Cows Iſland, whoſe junction was formed by turning the courſe of the river, which then ran where St. Louis's church is built. The bridges † St. Marie, and de la Tournelle, were not finiſhed till 1635.

* Called, alſo, the iſle of Notre Dame.

† Named after the projector.

The ſtreets *Petit Champs*, and *Bon Enfants*, were bounded by the walls of the city ſo late as 1630, which, as I have obſerved already, interſected *La Place des Victoires*. This part of the city was ſo unfrequented, that paſſengers were robbed there in open day; ſo that it went by the name of *pick-pocket* quarter.

The ſtructure of the *Royal Palace*, begun by Cardinal Richelieu in 1629, occaſioned the building of a new wall, ſo that the gate St. Honoré, placed where the Butchers ſhambles and *Quinze Vingts* market now are, was removed in 1631, to its preſent ſituation; and from this gate to that of St. Dennis the new ramparts, afterwards demoliſhed

by (r) Louis XIV. formed a circus of which *the Bulwark* is a part. This acquiſition of ground was ſoon covered with buildings, the ſtreets de Cleri, du Mail, St. Auguſtine, St. Anne, new St. Euſtatius and Petit Champs, with other adjacent ones. There were * wind-mills on St. Roche's hill in 1670.

* Des Moulins (or Wind-mill) ſtreet ſtill retains the name.

Of the Improvement and Enlargement of the CITY *of* PARIS.

I have endeavoured to give ſome idea of *Paris* at different æra's, and ſhall now take an irregular ſurvey of this metropolis, in its preſent ſtate. I make uſe of the word *irregular* to explain the nature of my deſign in *theſe Eſſays*, which wanders from the beaten track of a methodical, circumſtantial, general deſcription: my obſervations will be circumſcribed to ſuch places, or ſtreets, as have been diſtinguiſhed by any ſingular, or intereſting fact, or circumſtance, that may give an inſight into the cuſtoms and manners of the French nation at particular periods of time.

RUE ST. ANDRES DES ARCS,

(*Or* ST. ANDREW *of the* BOW'S, STREET.)

So called from the ſellers of Bows and Arrows.

IN the reign of Charles VI. during the civil wars, one Perrinet le Clerc, the ſon of a city alderman, ſtole the keys of Buci gate from under his father's pillow, and gave admittance to the Duke of Burgundy's troops.

This happened in the night of 28th or 29th of May 1418. They were no ſooner entered, than being joined by the refuſe of the people, they plundered, killed, or impriſoned all the oppoſers of the duke's faction, calling them Armagnaes. On the 12th of June the maſſacre was renewed with freſh fury; the populace forced open the priſons; ſeized the perſons of the principal citizens, who together with two arch-biſhops, ſix biſhops, and ſeveral preſidents, counſellors, and maſters of requeſts, either had their brains daſhed out, or elſe precipitated from the top of the *Conciergerie*, or the great *Chatelet*, on the ſwords and bayonets of their cruel enemies. The avenues to the palace flowed with blood; and the bodies of the *high Conſtable Bernard, d'Armagnae* and of the Chancellor Henry de Marle were inhumanly dragged through the ſtreets, and then thrown upon a dunghill. Perrinet le Clerc had a ſtatue erected to his memory by the butchers, the mutilated remains of which are ſtill viſible, and ſerve as a buttreſs to the corner houſe that divides St. André des Arcs and old Bouclerie ſtreet.

In

(r) Louis thought, the Capital of a great monarch and of a powerful people, wanted no fortifications!

In defiance of tradition, and the opinion of the generality of writers, *Moreau de Mautour* imagines this buttreſs, with a man's head to have been merely the whim of ſome workman, and that there never was a ſtatue of *Perrinet*. He ſeems ſo thoroughly convinced of this, that he entirely neglects giving any proof or reaſon for his incredulity. Nor is Germain Brice very accurate in his relation of this fact, he ſays "*that fragments of this ſtatue were found in the vault of a houſe in the neighbourhood, ſome years ago*". The moſt probable conjecture ſeems to be, that when Charles VII. became maſter of Paris, this ſtatue was mutilated and ſet up as a buttreſs, by way of deriſion: one may plainly perceive it to be of a different conſtruction from other buttreſſes, in length and thickneſs.

Hiſt. de L'Academie des Inſcrip. T. 3.

ST. ANTOINE (*or* ST. ANTHONY'S) STREET.

THE ground encloſed for that tournament where *Henry* II. was wounded, reached from the palace *des Tournelles* to the Baſtille. After his death *Catherine de Medicis* would live no longer in a palace, that to her appeared ſo inauſpicious; ſhe even prevailed on Charles IX. to let it drop, but it was not entirely demoliſhed till the reign of Henry IV. who founded *La Place Royale*, or the Royal Square, upon its ruins. The palace *des Tournelles* was originally a private gentleman's houſe, and in 1390, belonged to Chancellor d' Orgemont. Leon de Luſignan, king of Armenia, lived and died there in 1393. It became the reſidence of the Duke of *Bedford*, Regent of France during the minority of Henry VI. (of Lancaſter). That nobleman enlarged and embelliſhed it ſo conſiderably that *Charles* VII. and his ſucceſſors preferred its ſituation to that of the *Hotel St. Paul*, on the oppoſite ſide. The park and gardens were ſo extenſive that they reached from the ſtreet *des Egouts* to St. Anthony's gate, taking in the whole circumference of the following ſtreets; des Tournelles, Jean Beauſire, des Minimes, du Foin, St. Gilles, St. Pierre, des douze portes, and from the end of St. Louis's ſtreet to St. Anaſtaſe's.

The entrance into des Tournelles ſtreet, then the outſkirts of the park, oppoſite to the Baſtille, was the ſpot where *Quelus*, *Maugiron*, and *Livarot* fought a duel at five in the morning of the 27th of April 1578, with their antagoniſts *d'Entragues*, *Riberac*, and *Schomberg*. Both Maugiron and Schomberg, neither more than eighteen years of age, were killed on the ſpot. Riberac died the next day. Livarot received a wound in the head which confined him to his bed, ſix weeks. D'Entragues was only ſlightly wounded; but Quelus languiſhed above a month

month under the torture of nineteen wounds; and at laſt died in the arms of the * king on the 29th of May, in a chamber of the Hotel de Boiſſi, now conſecrated ground, being the choir of the church of the Viſitation of the Bleſſed Virgin.

* Memories ſur les Duels p. 94.

" Quelus (according to Brantome) complained loudly that d'Entragues had armed himſelf with a dagger as well as a ſword; and that conſequently, in endeavouring to parry the thurſts of the ſword, his hand was ſtabbed to peices by the dagger. That at the beginning of the encounter, Quelus obſerving this advantage, called out, " Sir, why do you uſe a dagger; you ſee I have none "? D'Entragues replied, " then, you have acted very fooliſhly in forgetting to bring one: our buſineſs is to fight, not to cavil about weapons ". The world has been divided in opinion whether D'Entragues proceeded according to the laws of honour, or whether he was not guilty of treachery, in taking this advantage? he denied that any converſation had paſſed on the choice or number of weapons, yet ſome are of opinion, that correſpondent to the courteous rules of chivalry, he ought to have thrown away his dagger. " The point remains ſtill undetermined "—In the preſent age, the baſeneſs of D'Entragues *will not* admit of a doubt, and indeed *ought not* in any age.

When the news reached Paris of the *Guiſees* being murthered at Blois, (December 27, 1588,) by command of Henry III. the populace were ſo much enraged by the ſeditious diſcourſes of the monks, that they ran to St. Pauls, and deſtroyed thoſe monuments erected by the king to the memory of Quelus, Maugiron, and St. Mégrin; ſaying " It was a great impropriety that men who were wicked enough to fly in the face of divine laws, ſhould, becauſe they were the minions of a tyrant, have ſumptuous tombs erected in the church! "

Theſe monuments were of black marble, adorned with ſtatues, which were a lively repreſentation of the three favourites, and crouded with epitaphs. Some of theſe I have copied from a printed account in 1587.

JACOBI DE LEVI,
Clariſs. familiæ & ſumma virtutis adol.
EPITA.

Quid marmor, aras & artes ſuſpicis? Dignus fuit hoc honore
Quæſleus, ingenio præſtans, moribus facilis, aſpectus
Gratus: cui artes erant, virtutem colere Deo, Patriæ,

Et,

Et Principi ſervire: non injuriam, ſed mortem patienter,
Tulit: grati animi eſt hoc monumentum.
Obiit 4 Kal. Junii anno 1578, æta. 24.

PAULI DE CAUSSADE. *Comi. Samegrini.*

EPITA.

Nil virtus, nil genus, nil opes, nil vires poſſunt.
Hic omnibus, & favore pollens jacet; victus fraude,
(*f*) Et multorum viribus: incautum vis obruit, quem
Nec publicus inimicus domuit, nec privatus terruit.
Abi viator: tace, & pro mortuo ora.
Obiit II. Kal. Auguſ: anno 1578. ſuæ 24.

FRANC. MAUGERONIS.

Clariſs. generoſs. adol.

EPITA.

Maugeronis in hoc ſunt oſſa repoſita ſepulcro,
Cui virtus annos contigit ante ſuos;
Octo namque decem natus, non pluribus annis,
Alter erat Cocles, Hannibal alter erat.
Teſtis erit tantæ juvenili Iſſona capta
Virtuti, teſtis perditus huic oculus.
Obiit anno 1578. quinta Kal. Maii æta. 18.

EPITAPH.

The *Cyprian* Goddeſs, late in Heav'n brought forth
A ſon of matchleſs Beauty, Wit, and Worth;
Whoſe Eyes were arm'd with Lightning, Flames, and Darts
Which *Cupid* envied as they pierc'd all hearts.
Enraged and jealous of his Brother's Eyes,
Of one he robs him *; but with vaſt ſurprize,
More irreſiſtible the other found,
For deeper, ſtill, it Gods and Men could wound.
With Sighs and Tears to *Venus* he complains,
Venus, unmov'd, but laughs at all his pains.
Vindictive now, in hopes of quick relief,
He ſupplicating tells the *Fates* his grief.

The

(*f*) St. Maigrin (ſays L'Etoile) paſſed for the Favourite of the Dutcheſs of Guiſe. Her brother the Duke of Mayenne, at the head of 20, or 30 men, aſſaſſinated him in the ſtreet St. Honoré, at 11 at night: July the 21, 1578.

* He loſt an eye by a wound at the Siege of Iſſoine, at 16 years old.

The *Fates*, who like the reſt the youth admire,
Snatch him with joy from Life at *Love*'s deſire.
Thus *MAUGIRON* lies here, deprived of breath,
Vanquiſh'd at once by *Cupid*, and by Death.

If the reader is ſurprized to meet with Venus, Cupid, and the Fates in a chriſtian ſanctuary, he will not be leſs ſo to hear that theſe dueliſts were honoured with funeral (*t*) orations, pronounced with great pomp and ſolemnity by Arnaud de Sorbin, Biſhop of Nevers. I ſhall conclude this article with an anecdote which proves the *rage of duelling* at that time. A quarrel between Quelus and Buſſi was ſucceeded by a challenge; the place of meeting appointed, and their own fathers choſen for ſeconds: but the king interpoſed and reconciled the combatants,

L'ARBRE SEC * STREET.

* So called from the ſign of a wither'd tree.

IN 1505, a kind of tumult aroſe in this ſtreet occaſioned by a prieſt's refuſing burial to a tradeſwoman, becauſe her relations refuſed ſhewing her *will*, either to the biſhop or himſelf.—The biſhops inſiſted that they had a right to demand a ſight of all *wills*, and even extended this privilege ſo far as to prohibit the rite of ſepulchre to all perſons who died *ab inteſtat*; or who had not bequeathed a legacy to the church. In the latter caſe, the relations of the deceaſed were obliged to apply to the epiſcopal court, which nominated a prieſt, or other eccleſiaſtical perſon, to ſupply the omiſſion, and to give a legacy in his, or her name. When the Peſtilence raged at Paris in 1533, ſo violently that there was little time to think of making *wills*, an infinite number of perſons lay many days uninterred, which conſequently encreaſed the infection. N. Des Urſins, Vicar General in the biſhop's abſence, willing to relax ſomewhat of the accuſtomed ſeverity, at length permitted the dead to be buried; but not without a clauſe, "that this inſtance of favour ſhould not be deemed a precedent". *Some* prieſts would not allow the Probationers to take the *Vow*, till they had paid theſe ſepulchral demands; alledging that ſince they would become dead to the world by their religious profeſſion, it was but juſt they ſhould acquit themſelves of their laſt obligations to it.

Laurierè gloſs. Franç. *the word* Exécuteur Teſtament.

Fievret Traité de l'Abus. p. 871. T. 1.

Arrets du 1 Mars 1401. 19 Mars 1409.

The printed Journals for the year 1440, in the reign of Charles VI. and VII. have the following paragraph. "That no perſon, either rich or poor, was interred in the church-yard of the Innocents, for the ſpace of four months, neither was maſs ſaid for any one, becauſe my Lord Biſhop of Paris, Denis des Moulins, exacted too exorbitant a price". Excommu-

(*t*) Printed by Chandieres, at the ſign of the Savage, in St. Jaques's Street.

Excommunications were thundered from the pulpit and fixed on the doors of the pariſh churches againſt the dead perſons whoſe family buried them in the fields for want of ability or inclination to pay the enormous ſums demanded by the church, *For indulgences to putrify in Holy Ground!* At length the Parliament by an edict publiſhed the 13th of June, 1552, repreſſed this ſcandal to religion: ſome of the biſhops maintained this to be an attack on the ſupremacy of the Church; but their ordonnances were diſregarded, and all offenders againſt the edict proſecuted ſo vigorouſly, that by degrees theſe impoſitions ceaſed, or at leaſt were exerciſed with leſs indecency. Ibidem, année 1448.

The ARSENAL.

BEHIND the monaſtery of the *Celeſtins* was an arſenal appertaining to the Town-Houſe, ſtiled *the Magazine of the City Artillery*. Francis the Iſt. having a mind to *found* ſome cannon, aſked the provoſt to lend it him; who complied with a very ill grace, foreſeeing, what really happened, its converſion into a royal palace. It was conſumed by fire in 1562. The new model of Charles IX. received conſiderable augmentations from Henry III. and IV.

The author of * *Miſcellaneous Reflections* on *Hiſtory* and *Literature*, mentions having ſeen articles of agreement, drawn (by order of Louis XIII.) with Villedo; one dated January 29, 1636, the other October 3, 1637, for cutting a canal round the city of Paris, from the baſtion of the Arſenal to the gate de la Conference. He adds, that after great expence beſtowed, the work was interrupted by M. Bullion, ſuperintendant of the finances, "who oppoſed the ſcheme becauſe it had been favoured by father Joſeph Le Clerc, that capuchin ſo famous under Richelieu's adminiſtration." It appears extraordinary that a ſuperintendant of finances who had a picque to a capuchin friar, ſhould have influence enough to ſtop the progreſs of a ſcheme, which had already coſt a vaſt ſum of money, and was regarded as the only method to prevent the inundations of the Seine! * M. Dr Alembert, T. 2. P. 9.

† AUBRI LE BOUCHER STREET.

A criminal leading to execution in 1309, was ſet at liberty in this ſtreet by the cardinal of St. Euſebius. Cardinals have claimed a privilege for ages paſts (ſimilar to that of the veſtal virgins at Rome) of pardoning a malefactor, if the meeting is accidental, for which they pledge their ſacred word! † From Aubri Le Boucher, a citizen of Paris. Rochette.

The AUGUSTINS QUAY,

WAS a piece of marſhy ground planted with willows, generally overflowed in winter, but in ſummer not an unpleaſant walk. *Philip the Fair*, in a letter to the provoſt, June 9, 1312, gives orders to pave this walk with flag ſtones; and it appears by a ſecond letter, May 23, of the enſuing year, that he reprimands him for neglecting his orders.

At the end of *Gille-cœur* ſtreet, juſt where it forms an angle with that of *Hurepoix*, *Francis* I. erected a ſmall palace which had a communication with the houſe of the dutcheſs *d' Eſtampes* in the ſtreet *L' Hirondelle*. The ſelection of ſubjects in the pictures, tapeſtry, and paintings in *Freſco*, which decorated the apartments of the king and the dutcheſs; with that profuſion of ſalamanders * encircled with emblematical inſcriptions, equally expreſſive of wit and tenderneſs, clearly demonſtrate to what deity, and to what pleaſures they were dedicated! "Of all that variety of devices, ſays Sauval, which have a long time been defaced, I can remember only one. A flaming heart, between an *Alpha* and an *Omega*; as the emblem of an eternal paſſion." The cabinet where the dutcheſs d' Eſtampes uſed to bathe, ſerves, now, for a ſtable to an inn, ſtill retaining the name of The Salamander. A haberdaſher has his dinner cooked in the preſence chamber of Francis I. And, when I examined the ruins of the palace, the wife of a bookſeller was in bed in his *favourite ſaloon of delights*. An anonymous author relates that on twelfth-day 1521, this monarch was diverting himſelf with a party of his courtiers in battering a caſtle with ſnow-balls. The count de St. Pol repelled theſe beſiegers with the ſame ſhot; when, unfortunately, the king received a dangerous wound from a rocket that *Montgomery* inadvertently threw from a window. Hereditary vices in a family are not ſurprizing, but that a father † and ſon, both loyal ſubjects, men of probity and honour, ſhould be deſtined by a horrid kind of fatality, the one to wound, the other to kill his ſovereign, is ſomething ſingularly amazing! Etienne Paſquier relates this accident in his letters, and ſays it happened at Blois.

* The field of his coat of arms.

The Hotel d' Hercule, ſo called from the *labours of Hercules* painted on the walls, ſtood at that end of the quay, next the *Great Auguſtins*. It was a preſent from Louis XIII. to chancellor Du Prat; whoſe grandſon Anthony, lord of Nantouillet and provoſt of Paris, uſed to boaſt

† They were both captains in the Scots Guards. Henry II. ſon of Francis I. was killed at a tournament, by the ſplinter of a lance of the younger earl of Montgomery's, which pierced his eye.

boaſt that he had the moſt powerful enemies of any man in Europe! At London, ſaid he, I ſpoke very freely of Queen Elizabeth; no day paſſes without my abuſing the * duke of Anjou's, and the † king of Navarre's miſtreſſes; and I have had the pleaſure of breaking my word with the duke of Guiſe about an eſtate he wanted! One day, the duke of Anjou, the king of Navarre, and the duke of Guiſe, ſent him word they intended to ſup with him. All the pretences Nantouillet could make to be excuſed from this honour were to no purpoſe, his gueſts had determined to go. When ſupper was over, their attendants pillaged the apartments of all the plate and china, throwing the furniture into the ſtreet. "The next morning (ſays l' Etoile) the firſt "preſident waited on the king, (Charles IX.) and told him the city "was in an uproar about a ſtrange robbery, committed the preced-"ing night, at the Hotel d' Hercule; and that they did not ſcruple to "aſſert his majeſty, having a mind to carry on the jeſt, was there in "perſon. To which the king anſwering that thoſe who ſaid ſo lied! "the firſt preſident replied, Sire, I will then immediately inform them "ſo! No, no, continued the king, you need not give your ſelf that "trouble; only tell Nantouillet, that if he applies for redreſs, he "will find his antagoniſts much too ſtrong for him."

* Henry III.
† Henry IV.

Annals of the year 1513.

Some time after this, Mademoiſelle de Rieux, the favourite miſtreſs of the duke of Anjou, fair as the *Graces*, but haughty and high ſpirited as the *Bretons*, was taking the air on ‡ horſeback, upon the Quay de l'Ecole, when ſhe ſpied Nantouillet walking in proceſſion, attended by the city guard, it being a holiday. In an inſtant, ſhe rode over him, full gallop, and trampled him under her horſe's feet. It was this lady, ſays Brantome, who undauntedly killed Antinotti, a Florentine, whom ſhe had married for love, and ſurprized in the arms of another woman.

‡ The maids of honour, in thoſe days, had no equipages.

PETITS *(or the Little)* AUGUSTIN STREET.

THE Abbey of St. Germain des Prez, adjoining to, though on the outſide of the walls of Paris, had very much the appearance of a citadel. It was flanked with towers, and encompaſſed with foſſes; a large canal from 78 to 84 feet broad, called the *Little Seine*, branched off from the *Great River* purſuing its courſe through. Little Auguſtin ſtreet, till it emptied itſelf into the (*u*) foſſes of the Abbey St. Germain. Two meadows interſected by this canal were called *Great and*

(*u*) Theſe foſſes were filled up in 1640, and one ſide of the ſtreets, St. Benoit, St. Marguerite and du Colombiere built upon them: the other ſide of the latter ſtreet had been erected at the ſame time with Des Marais ſtreet, about the year 1543.

Little Clerks meadow, from the ſcholars, then ſtiled clerks, being permitted to walk there on feſtival days. *The little meadow* was neareſt the city.

Mem. pour ſervir a L' Hiſtoire année 1589

When Henry IV. beſieged Paris, 1589, part of his army lay encamped in *Great Clerks meadow*. "On Wedneſday the 1ſt of November, under covert of a fog that roſe almoſt miraculouſly, the king after ordering prayers to be offered up, marched his troops and ſurprized the Fauxbourgs, St. Jaques, (*x*) and St. Germain. At ſeven in the morning, he lay down on a truſs of clean ſtraw in the hall *du petit Bourbon*, * in the *Fauxbourg St. Jaques*, and ſlept about three hours.

* Now the valley de Grace.

The ſame day, having a mind to take a view of Paris undiſcovered, he went to the top of the clock of St. Germain des Prez, with only a monk for his conductor. He afterwards told the marſhal de Biron, that he was not without apprehenſions when he ſaw himſelf alone with a monk and remembered the knife of Brother † Clement. The king quitted the Fauxbourg on Friday the 3d of November, being diſappointed of the artillery neceſſary for attacking the city. He drew up his men in the field who reſted on their arms from ſeven to eleven, in hopes the duke of Mayenne would make a ſally, but that general did not think it expedient.

† He ſtabbed Henry III.

There were no houſes in *Great Clerks meadow*, till the reign of Louis XIII. and the ſtreets Petits Auguſtins, Jacob, Univerſity, Verneuil, Bourbon, and St. Pere were unfiniſhed till the commencement of that of Louis XIV.

Queen Margaret, firſt wife to Henry IV. formed an eſtabliſhment for an order of *Barefooted Auguſtins*. She ſettled on them a houſe, ſix acres of land, and ſix thouſand livres perpetual rent, on condition they ſhould ſing ſome ſpiritual hymns in praiſe of God, to *certain airs compoſed by her order*. It evidently appears that theſe fathers muſt have had *an antipathy to muſick*, as they obſtinately perſiſted in refuſing to ſing *pſalms*, though they were to have been ſo well paid for it. The queen diſmiſſed them, and appointed the *ſhod Auguſtins* to ſucceed them, who are, ſince, wonderfully encreaſed, and have given their name to the ſtreet they dwell in.

ST. AVOYE STREET.

THE Hotel de Meſmes formerly belonged to Anne de Montmorenci, conſtable of France; and he expired in it with all the dignity of a Chriſtian Hero, on the 12th of November 1567, two days after the

(*x*) Some fortified entrenchments ſurrounded theſe Fauxbourgs at that time, but not near ſo extenſive as the preſent.

the battle of St. Denis, of the wounds he received there. This venerable old warrior at the age of ſeventy four, the blood ſtreaming from his wounds, and the point of his ſword broke, made ſo ſtrong an effort with the hilt, againſt Robert Stuart, who called to him to ſurrender, that he beat out two of his teeth, and diſmounted him. At that very inſtant one of *Stuart*'s ſoldiers fired a piſtol and lodged three balls in his reins. Memoires de Caſtelneau, L. 6.

Montmorenci had ſerved under five monarchs; been engaged in near two hundred ſkirmiſhes, and eight pitched battles; and employed in negotiating ten treaties of peace. I cannot omit an obſervation, that in thoſe unhappy times of the civil wars, the princes, and moſt conſiderable commanders, as well catholicks as proteſtants, had ſomething fatally ſingular in the manner of their deaths. Henry II. was killed by the ſplinter of a lance in his eye; Charles IX. vomited blood; the third and fourth Henry's were aſſaſſinated; Anthony de Bourbon, king of Navarre, being wounded at the ſiege of Rouen, the ſurgeons might have compleated his cure, had not his ungovernable paſſion for Mademoiſelle de Rouet interpoſed; Francis, count d'Enghien was killed by the fall of a trunk upon his head, as he was recreating himſelf with his friends, in the caſtle of La Roche Guyon; Henry of Bourbon, marquis de Beaupreau by a fall from his horſe in a hunting party; Louis I. prince of Condé, was murthered by Monteſquion after the battle of Jamac; and Henry I. prince of Condé, poiſoned at St. John d' Angeli; the marſhal de St. André was ſlain in cold blood, after the battle of Dreux, by Bobigny; and Francis of Cleves, was accidentally killed by his beſt friend in the ſame engagement; Francis of Guiſe by the aſſaſſination of John Poltrot de Mere, at the ſiege of Orleans; Henry duke of Guiſe, and the cardinal his brother, met their puniſhment and death at Blois; the cardinal of Lorrain was poiſoned at Avignon by a monk; and the cardinal of Chatillon, at Hampton, by his valet de chambre; admiral Coligni inhumanly butchered on the eve of St. Bartholomew; and admiral André of Villars Braneas, firſt taken priſoner by the Spaniards, and then poniarded by order of Coutreras, the commiſſary-general. Of five brothers of the family of Joyeuſe, Anne, and Claude were diſhonourably ſlain by two officers (Bordiaux and Deſcentiers) at the battle of Coutras. George was found dead in his bed of an apoplexy, on the morning that ſhould have preceded his nuptials. Anthony Scipio was drowned in the river Tam, after the battle of Villimur. And Henry, a marſhal and peer of France died a capuchin. Brantome.

HISTORY

* BARBETTE STREET.

* From Stephen Barbette, provoſt of Paris, under Philip the Fair.

ISABELLA of Bavaria, queen of Charles VI. purchaſed the *Hotel Barbette*, as a little lodge for her retirement, during the terrible malady that prince was afflicted with.

The Abbe de Choiſi relates, from an ancient manuſcript, "that, as "this monarch was ſometimes furious, and dealt his blows in-"diſcriminately on all ſides, it was to be feared that in the night he "might ſtrike the queen. To prevent ſuch an accident, they con-"ſtantly conveyed to his bed the daughter of a dealer in horſes, who "was very pretty, and very well rewarded for her complaiſance; ſhe "was univerſally called in public the *Little Queen*. The king had a "daughter by her (Margaret de Valois) whom they married to the "Sieur d'Harpedane, and gave her for a portion, the eſtate of "Belleville, in Poitou."

I have read in an old chronicle, that in order to prevail with his majeſty to change his linen, and lye between the ſheets, which he had not done for near five months, they thought of the expedient of preſenting to him this fair damſel, whoſe name was *Odette de Champdivers*, A more natural method than what they afterwards had recourſe to; of ſending into his chamber ten or twelve men in maſquerade habits, with their faces blacked; who, without ſpeaking a word, undreſſed and put him into bed, ſo terrified that he did not dare make any reſiſtance. It is impoſſible to read the life of Charles VI. without being affected. His perſon was majeſtic, and his ſtrength and addreſs in every kind of exerciſe aſtoniſhing; he was liberal, affable, and humane, to exceſs. The groans of his people, which reached his ear during the intervals of his diſtemper, informed him of the tyrannical adminiſtration of his uncles; and, from the goodneſs of his heart, brought on more ſevere and frequent attacks. He too well perceived the advantage they had taken of his unhappy ſituation to levy new taxes on his ſubjects; whilſt his brother the duke of Orleans, and the queen, appropriated to themſelves the revenues of the crown, diſſipating them in ſuperfluous expences, and leaving the dauphin in abſolute want of neceſſaries. One day, on examining the governeſs of his children, ſhe confeſſed, "that they often had not any thing to eat, or to wear." Alas! (ſaid the king ſighing) I am not better treated than my children! take this cup, (giving her the gold cup he drank out of) and ſell it for their ſupport. Charles would have been a great monarch, had

he

he not been ſeized with a fatal malady which occaſioned all the misfortunes of France and the triumphs of England.

DES BARRES STREET.

LOUIS DE BOURDON, a handſome, well-ſhaped man, who had diſtinguiſhed his proweſs on various occaſions, particularly at the battle of Agincourt, was riding one evening, according to his uſual cuſtom, to viſit Queen Iſabella at the Caſtle of Vincennes. He met the king (Charles VI.) returning from thence; when careleſſly ſaluting his majeſty, *without alighting*, or *ſtopping*, he ſpurred his horſe into a full gallop. The king knew him, and commanded *Tangui du Chatel* (the provoſt of Paris) to purſue, and carry him to priſon. He was immediately put to the torture, and afterwards tied in a ſack and thrown into the Seine, with theſe words inſcribed, "*Let the juſtice of the king paſs unexamined.*" His public amour with the queen merited ſuch a puniſhment. Monſtrelet, P. 244. Le Laboureur.

The next day her majeſty was conducted to Tours, where ſhe was cloſely confined. An anonymous writer, who takes ſo great delight in the recording extraordinary facts as to create a ſuſpicion that he ſometimes deals in the marvellous, ſays, "The man commiſſioned to ſeize * Louis de Bourdon's papers, having opened a drawer in an old cabinet, there came out near a dozen aſps, or venomous ſerpents; and the next day this man was found in the agonies of death, with the aſps twined round his neck, legs, and arms."

* This houſe is now the Hotel de Charné in des Barres ſtreet.

ST. BARTHOLOMEW STREET.

PRECEDENTLY to the marriage of Robert, the ſon of Hugh Capet, and Bertha, the daughter of his couſin-german, a convocation of biſhops had given it as their opinion that a diſpenſation was unneceſſary, or ſuppoſing this to be controverted, that they had a right to grant one. Two years after, when Gregory the Vth ſat in the papal chair, he held a council at Rome, the firſt decree of which attacked the validity of the marriage; it runs thus, "Robert King of France "and Bertha his relation, having entered into matrimony in oppoſition to the laws of the church, be it ordained, that they immediately "ſeperate, and that each of them do penance for ſeven years. Likewiſe, that Archambaut of Tours, archbiſhop, who beſtowed the "nuptial benediction, together with the biſhops aſſiſting at this inceſtuous marriage, be interdicted from the holy communion, till "they ſhall appear at Rome and make atonement to the Papal See".

The

The king was fond of his wife, who was with child, and it appeared to him the moſt horrible cruelty to ſtamp diſhonour on her and the unborn infant; he refuſed to obey the order and was excommunicated. Inſtantly, not only the populace, but the courtiers, all deſerted their ſovereign. Two domeſticks alone remained faithful. The very plate that covered his table, the vaſes out of which he drank, were thought ſo defiled that no one would venture to touch them, till purified by fire. One morning as Robert, according to his daily practice, was addreſſing his prayers to heaven, in the porch of St. Bartholomew's church, for he did not dare approach farther, he was accoſted by Abbon, abbé de Fleuri, followed by two women attendants of the palace, bearing a large gilt ſalver covered with a napkin. Abbon informed the king that Bertha was delivered, then taking of the napkin, "Behold, ſaid he, the effects of your diſobedience to the decrees of the church, and the ſeal of her *Anathema* ſtamped on this fruit of forbidden love!" Robert caſt his eyes, and beheld (ſay Pierre Damien and Romauld) a monſter with the head and neck of a duck. Is it poſſible to believe that by a moſt diabolical combination againſt their prince, they ſhould ſubſtitute a monſter for a real child, with a view, not only to accelerate his ſubmiſſion to the Holy See, but alſo to impreſs on the minds of the people all the terrors of excommunication? Or rather may it not be a more natural conjecture, that this miſhapen ſubſtance might owe its origin to the perturbation of a woman ſo circumſtanced, whoſe imagination and conſcience were perpetually diſturbed by the pope's menaces. The termination of this affair was, that after repudiating Bertha, the king married Conſtance of Provence, whoſe temper, haughty, cruel, and vindictive, exerciſed his patience ſo often, and cauſed ſo many diſorders in the ſtate, that it did not appear the bleſſing of heaven ſanctified this ſecond marriage.

Daniel's Hiſtory of France.

Anonymous writer. Ducheſne, T. 4. p. 85.

Mezeray.

The BASTILLE.

CHRISTIERN of Piſan who lived in the reign of Charles V. and wrote that prince's life, mentions his "building the Baſtille, St. Anthony, which was enlarged by additional works in future reigns." Hugh Aubriot, provoſt of Paris, laid the firſt ſtone, April 22d, 1370. Le Laboureur ſays, the fortifications were compleated in 1382. This caſtle, though not remarkable for its ſtrength, is one of the moſt tremendous edifices in Europe! I ſhall not gratify curioſity with one ſingle anecdote concerning it.

DES

DES BERNARDINS STREET.

CARDINAL DE RETZ, and the malecontents of that age, intending to ſtir up a freſh tumult in the city, thought of a ſcheme to deceive the Pariſians into a belief that the court intended to have aſſaſſinated *Joli*; a man in great eſteem with the populace, a commiſſioner of the taxes, and one of the judges of the Chatelet. The method purſued was this: "They hung Joli's coat and cloak upon a block in a particular poſition; D'Eſtainoille fired a piſtol, by repeated tryals, ſo dextrouſly, as to lodge the bullet in a ſleeve ſtuffed with hay, exactly upon the part agreed on between him and Joli. The time appointed for this enterprize was half an hour paſt ſeven in the morning, when he was to paſs through Bernardines ſtreet: the farce anſwered the expectation of the actors; D'Eſtainoille advanced towards the coach; Joli held down his head; the ball paſſed over it, and lodged in his ſleeve, in that part of the arm correſpondent to his ſituation in the coach. He was carried to a ſurgeon's oppoſite to St. Nicholas du Chardonnet; where being undreſſed they found his left arm wounded, juſt were the ball appeared to have paſſed: This wound he had given himſelf the preceding night with a flint ſtone, in ſo artful a manner as to impoſe on the ſurgeon, who really believed it a gunſhot wound, and put on dreſſings accordingly. As the plot ſucceeded ſo well, D'Argenteuil began to play his part, by ſaying and doing all he could to inſinuate that this attempt muſt be the work of the court, who wanted to rid themſelves of a commiſſioner, more ſteady and warm in his zeal for the publick good than the reſt of his brethren." Memoires de Joli, ann. 1649.

What ideas would ariſe in the mind of a *ſavage* from reading this recital of the Sieur Joli? who boaſted, with an air of ſatisfaction and vanity, that he ſuborned witneſſes, drew inferences from falſe proofs, and purſued the beſt calculated and moſt infallible meaſures of convincing the world that the queen and her miniſter were the authors of this ſhameful action! Undoubtedly the *ſavage* would conclude that infamous machinations like theſe, were eſteemed honourable in France; for how unnatural would it be for a man to write his own life on purpoſe to make himſelf appear odious and contemptible!

*BETIZY STREET.

IN the ſecond houſe on the left hand (now a poſt-office) as you turn out of La Monnoye ſtreet, admiral Coligni was murthered. The maſſacre of the proteſtants ſhould have commenced an hour before day-break;

*From James Betizy an advocate.

break on the eve of St. Bartholomew, 1572. The alarum bell of the palace was to be the ſignal; but towards midnight, Catharine de Medicis, thinking ſhe obſerved ſome traces of remorſe and irreſolution in the king's countenance, feared a change of ſentiments, and haſtened the fatal moment. Immediately the duke of Guiſe with a party of guards, knocked loudly at the admiral's gate: Labonne opened it and met his death. Charles Dianowitz (a Bohemian) ſays that Le Beſme, Petrucci of Sienna, Coſſeins, and Sarlabous ran upſtairs and found the admiral ſeated in an eaſy chair, for the firſt noiſe had awakened him. "Young man, ſaid he to Le Beſme, theſe grey-hairs demand more reverence from thee! But do what thou wilt; thou can'ſt only rob me of a very few days longer life!" He was then extremely ill, and (y) wounded in both arms; the anxieties of the cabinet, joined to the fatigues of the camp had brought on a premature old age at fifty five. Le Beſme and Petrucci after repeated ſtabs, threw his body from a window into the court, where the duke of Guiſe wiped the blood from his face with a handkerchief, that he might be ſure he was not miſtaken; then trampling him under his feet, he cried out exultingly to his attendants, "This is a good beginning!—let us purſue our work."

Pierre Mathieu affirms he had ſeveral times heard Henry IV. relate a circumſtance that happened on the very evening, ſome hours preceding the maſſacre. He was playing at hazard with the duke of Guiſe; when ſome drops of blood appeared upon the table, which on rubbing them out, re-appeared a ſecond time. The duke was ſo ſtruck that he left off play.

Le Beſme was rewarded by the cardinal of Lorraine with one of his baſtards in marriage. The head of Coligni was cut off by an Italian and preſented to Catharine de Medicis, who had it embalmed and ſent to Rome. The pope ordered a ſolemn proceſſion, to return thanks for the happy day of St. Bartholomew: a proceeding which ſo exceedingly irritated Breſſaut de la Rouvraye, a Huguenot gentleman of Angevin, and a ſoldier, that he ſwore to make an example of all the monks who fell into his hands.

Mezerai.

Mem. of the ſtate of France.

Charles IX. iſſued orders into all the provinces for exterminating the Huguenots. And whilſt the majority of the governors were ferocious, or wicked enough to obey, the viſcount d'Orte, who commanded at Bayonne, anſwered him thus — "Sire, I have communicated your Majeſty's letter to the garriſon, and to the inhabitants of this city.

I

(y) He was wounded in the right hand, and the left arm, by Maurevert, as he was walking from the Louvre a few days before. This man had concealed himſelf in a houſe in the cloiſter St. Germain d'Auxerrois, and ſhot him as he paſt.

I find brave ſoldiers and good citizens, but not one hangman in the place!"

† DES BONS ENFANS STREET.

† So called from a college formerly exiſting.

THE (z) Opera houſe, and all the apartments of the royal palace, on the ſide next St. Honoré, were built on the ruins of the hotel belonging to the counts d' Armagnac. It was here the duke of Burgundy's troops made their firſt approach, when the treaſon of * Perinet opened to them the gates of Paris, 1418. The conſtable, Bernard d' Armagnac eſcaped in diſguiſe to a maſon's houſe in the neighbourhood; this wretch betrayed him to his enemies, who confined him in the Conciergerie. The populace afterwards forced open the doors, murthered and caſt him on a dunghill, after dragging him ignominiouſly through the ſtreets. Such was the fate of one of the deſcendants of Clovis, of the Charibert branch; brother to Dagobert.

* See St. Andrews ſtreet.

That of James d' Armagnac his grandſon was ſtill more unfortunate. He was beheaded by order of Louis the XI. who, by an unexampled refinement in cruelty, cauſed his children (the eldeſt but twelve years old) to be placed under the ſcaffold, dreſſed in white, bareheaded, claſping their little hands together, that they might be ſprinkled with the blood of their father! Bouſile, who was entruſted with the education of the eldeſt ſon, ſtarved him to death in Perpignan caſtle, in order to ſecure the money lodged in his hands; which he was afterwards obliged to refund to the government. Louis de Nimours the youngeſt, and laſt of this illuſtrious houſe, was killed at the battle of Cerignolles in the reign of Louis XII.

Vaiſſet's Hiſt. of Languedoc.

Gen. Hiſt. of France.

DES BOUCHERIES *(or Butchers)* STREET, *in the* FAUXBOURG ST. GERMAIN.

THAT range of buildings adjoining to the *Little Market*, was founded on part of a warren belonging to the abbey. Philip *the Good*, king of Navarre, and his ſon Charles *the Bad*, had their palace where the booths and ſhops of *the Fair* are now erected. It was built by Louis of France (father of Philip *the Good*, and ſon of Philip *the Bold*) in the midſt of a vineyard he had purchaſed of Raoul de Preſles, father to that Raoul, celebrated for his writings in the reign of Charles V. and who, according to the abbé Maſſieu, had the compound title of *Poet-Confeſſor to the king*.

(z) Since the publication of this work, in the original, the Opera Houſe has been burnt down; the ſame accident has happened at the fair of St. Germains.

PETIT *(or little)* BOURBON STREET, *(near* ST. SULPICIUS.)

At the corner-houſe of this and de Tournon ſtreet, lived the frantic dutcheſs of Monpenſier, ſiſter to the Guiſe's, who were killed at Blois. If ſome hiſtorians are to be credited ſhe proſtituted herſelf to Bourgoing, (the prior of the Jacobins) and concerted with that monſter the means of getting acceſs to Henry III, and the plan of his aſſaſſination by James Clement. Certain it is that the mother of this regicide was ſome days at the dutcheſs's houſe, when ſhe came to Paris, from Sorbonne, a village near Sens, to demand the promiſed reward for that execrable deed. Here the preachers encouraged the mob to repair, and offer due honours to "*The bleſſed mother of a holy martyr,*" a title they beſtowed on her from the pulpit. After receiving no inconſiderable ſum of money this woman returned to her habitation, eſcorted by an *honourable* retinue of a hundred and forty monks, who accompanied her a league from Paris.

Hiſt. of Paris, L. 23.

"When Bourgoing was interrogated by the judges (ſays Cayet) "he anſwered in a ludicrous manner. They ſentenced him to be "drawn in pieces between four horſes. When led to execution in "the market-place *de Tours* he told the people they would loſe one of "their ſweeteſt preachers. He then entreated the Almighty to have "mercy on his ſoul, and pardon his great ſins. Le Greffier then ſaid "to him, as prior of the convent, James Clement, the murtherer of "our king, was immediately under your tuition, nor could he abſent "himſelf without your permiſſion. You have, ſince the perpetration "of his horrid parricide, dared to aſſert that he is a ſaint in Paradiſe. "All who have been preſent at your ſermons, have heard you praiſe "and applaud the deed for which you are accuſed and convicted—theſe "are facts you cannot deny. Yet, obſtinately determined not to con- "feſs the ſecret machinations of your guilt, nor diſcover your accom- "plices, what hope can you have in appearing before God that he will "pardon your ſins? your ſalvation is very doubtful indeed!—Bourgoing "replied, in an angry tone, *We have done all the good we were able, "but not ſo much as we were willing to do.* He ſpoke no more, the "handkerchief was pulled over his face, he was torn in pieces, and "afterwards burnt.

Chronol. Novenaire. 1589.

Brantome's Vies des Hommes illuſtres. T. 1. p. 229.

PETIT *(or little)* BOURBON STREET, *near the Louvre.*

A S you approach the Louvre from the quay, juſt at the entrance into Bourbon ſtreet, ſtood an old houſe called the kings-wardrobe, lately taken down, which formerly appertained to the conſtable de Bourbon.

Bourbon. On his being condemned for treaſon in 1523, the court before his houſe was ſowed with ſalt, his armour broken, and the doors and windows ſmeared by the hangman, with that ignominious yellow which ſtigmatizes the dwelling of a traitor. This prince was ſlain before the walls of Rome, on the 6th of May, 1527. He was the firſt that mounted the breach.

Theſe verſes were wrote on his death,

Unum, BORBONIO votum fuit arma ferenti,
Vincere vel mori; donat utrumque Deus.

His ſoldiers, by whom he was idolized, having ſacked the city, conveyed his body to Gaëtte, and raiſed a monument in the chapel where it was depoſited. The council of Trent ordered it ſhould be dug up; probably, becauſe the church does not permit reſiſtance to the pope's authority, even when he goes to war as a temporal prince! The body of the conſtable de Bourbon was thrown near the gate of the caſtle of Gaëtte, and the humanity of a French officer of the garriſon encloſed it in a glaſs caſe. In the year 1660 it was undecayed: habited in a robe of green velvet, trimmed with gold lace, in a ſtanding attitude, booted and leaning on a general's ſtaff. Ibidem.

From the windows of this houſe, which, as I obſerved, belonged to the conſtable de Bourbon, Charles IX. became an actor in the bloody tragedy on St. Bartholomew's day. Firing with a long gun upon thoſe Huguenots who tried to ſwim over the river to the Fauxbourg St. Germain.—The Pont Neuf was not then built.

In the Orangerie at Verſailles they ſhew an orange tree, ſaid to have been the conſtable's; which ſtill retains the name.

* DES BOURDONNOIS STREET.

* So named from Meſſ. Adam and William Bourdon.

PIGANIOL, in his deſcription of Paris, declares that Gaultier and Dupre, two ſilk mercers, at the ſign of the golden crown, aſſured him they had traditional authority for believing that Philip the Fair, in the year 1280, lived in their houſe. Nor are they ſingular, ſays Piganiol, in this opinion. But there is a miſtake in the perſon. It was not Philip the Fair, but Philip, duke of Orleans, brother to king John, who bought this houſe in 1391, for † two thouſand franks. Seven years after it was the property of *Preux* Gui de la Tremouille.

† Near 16000 livres of the preſent currency.

BOUT DU MONDE STREET, *(or the World's End.)*

THE derivation of this name was from a *ſign* repreſenting a buck, a duck, and a globe. Several ſtreets have borrowed their name from *ſigns*;

ſigns; the orthography frequently becomes corrupt, but ſeldom, like this, conveys a different ſenſe.

DE LA BUCHERIE STREET.

THE College of Phyſic is in this ſtreet, and founded in 1472, or thereabouts. The profeſſors of this ſcience in ancient times were prieſts under a vow of celibacy. When cardinal d' Eſtouteville undertook to reform the Univerſity, in 1452, the ſcholars preſſed him ſo earneſtly, and repreſented the temptations they were perpetually expoſed to in ſuch lively colours, that they obtained permiſſion to marry.

The diſſection of human bodies was deemed ſacrilegious in the time of Francis I. The phyſicians of that and the preceding ages muſt have been leſs ſcientific than in the preſent; they were almoſt totally ignorant of anatomy: Did mankind die faſter, or not?

There are inſtances of men, who have been ſuperſtitious enough to make their will, becauſe they dreamed of a doctor; interpreting it an infallible preſage of death!

The CELESTINS QUAY.

THE Hotel St. Paul was erected by Charles the V, and peculiarly caculated for the celebration of magnificent entertainments and diverſions; as an edict of July 1364, fully expreſſes. The banqueting houſe and gardens covered all the ſpace between St. Anthony's ſtreet and the river, extending likewiſe from the foſſé to the parochial church of St. Paul, ſo that the Baſtille and the monaſtery of the Celeſtins appeared to ſtand within the encloſure. In the ſtyle of architecture of that age this building was adorned hith heavy turrets, which were thought to add an air of grandeur and magnificence. Whilſt the gardens, inſtead of being decorated with evergreens and flowering ſhrubs, were enriched with pears, plumbs, cherries and vines. Narrow ſhady walks and gay alcoves varied the ſcene: lavender and roſemary, peas and beans, were ſcattered profuſely in every quarter. A beautiful arbour, one of the chief embelliſhments of theſe gardens, gave its name to the ſtreet *de Beautreilles*; as a cherry grove did to that of La Ceriſaie. The ſides of the lower courts of the palace were lined with dove-cotes, and partitions for poultry, which the farmers of the king's eſtates and domains were obliged to furniſh: here they were fatted for his majeſty's table and thoſe of the officers of his houſehold. The cielings and cornices of the ſtate apartments were ornamented with *Fleur de lys* made of gilded tin: and between the ſmall iron bars of the windows

windows was a wire lattice, *to prevent the pigeons from laying their ordure in the chambers.* The furniture conſiſted of glaſſes, painted in a variety of colours, repreſenting male and female ſaints, encircled with coats of arms, and devices, in the manner of windows in old churches. A frugal diſtribution of arm-chairs, covered with red leather and ſilk fringe, were reſerved for his majeſty: the reſt of the ſeats were ſtools, forms, and benches.

The French had an old hoſpitable cuſtom of giving their favourite gueſts a ſhare in their bed; which was immoderately large. Thoſe beds of ten or twelve feet ſquare were called couches, and thoſe of only half the dimenſions *couchettes.* Charles V. uſually dined at about eleven, and ſupped at ſeven; the whole court went to bed at nine in winter, and ten in ſummer. "To prevent any idle thoughts or converſation at table, ſays Chriſtiern Piſan, it was an ancient and laudable practice for the queen to appoint ſome perſon of prudence and experience to entertain the company with ſayings and actions of illuſtrious heroes, or philoſophers, eminent for piety and virtue."

The faſhion of embroidering atchievements on the ladies garments took its riſe in the reign of Charles V. and laſted near a century. They wore their huſbands *arms* on the right ſide, and their own on the left.

The grand front, and approach to the Hotel St. Paul, was next the river; between the church, and the monaſtery.

From the year 1519, the detached buildings belonging to the palace were ſold by Francis I. and as Charles VII, and VIII, Louis XI, and XII, had deſerted it for the palace des Tournelles, the whole was ſold to different perſons in 1551, who began to divide that large tract of ground into the ſtreets we ſee at preſent.

DU CHAUME STREET.

AT the time Charles de Blois was at war with the earl of Montfort for the ſucceſſion of the dutchy of Brettony, Philip de Valois, who was uncle to Charles, gave orders for beheading Oliver, Sieur de Cliſſon, the third of that name, and ſome other gentlemen of Brettony, on a very ſlight ſuſpicion of their holding intelligence with England and the earl of Montfort. The firſt ſtep taken by the widow of Cliſſon, Jane de Belleville, was the private removal of her ſon, about twelve years old, whom ſhe ſent to London: and when her apprehenſions in regard to his ſafety were at eaſe, ſhe ſold her jewels, fitted out three armed veſſels and turned pyrate; revenging her huſband's death on all the

In the corn-market at Paris, Aug. 2. 1343.

the French ſhe encountered. This new corſair made ſome deſcents on the coaſt of Normandy, ſtorming the caſtles in her way. The inhabitants of that province ſaw more than once in their flaming valleys, the moſt beautiful woman in Europe, holding a ſword in one hand, and brandiſhing a torch in the other, wade through carnage, and view with exultation all the horrours of war.

When the young Cliſſon was capable of bearing arms, his firſt exploits proclaimed what he would one day be. The point of a lance which extinguiſhed the ſight of one of his eyes at the battle of Auray, could not extinguiſh his martial ardour! "It was wonderful to ſee him dart like a flaſh of lightning into the midſt of the battle, his pike in his hand, overwhelming, and bearing down to the right and left all who oppoſed his paſſage." The ſucceſs of that famous day which decided the dutchy of Bretagne in favour of the young earl of Montfort, was partly owing to his valour. Some time after he embroiled himſelf with that noble, who had given the caſtle of Gavre to the renowned John Chandos. The devil take me, my lord, ſaid Cliſſon to him, if I ever allow an Engliſhman to be my neighbour, and immediately ſet fire to the caſtle, not leaving one ſtone upon another. Independantly of his pretenſions to the caſtle of Gavre, he could not help confeſſing, that though he had been educated in * England, his national antipathy was inſurmountable. A prejudice very common, not to ſay natural, to the inhabitants of Brettony. Charles V. did not fail taking advantage of this diſguſt, to invite him to his court. He preſented him, on the 15 of Auguſt 1371, with four thouſand livres to purchaſe a houſe at Paris, called according to Sauval, *The great* † *Timber-yard of the Temple*. In my opinion it was rather the name of a piece of ground which Cliſſon built a houſe upon, which is ſtill remaining, and conſtitutes that part of the Hotel de Soubiſe, next Chaume ſtreet.

* He afterwards acquired the name of the butcher, from never giving them quarter

† From whence comes the ſtreet du grand Chantier.

Froiſſard, a cotemporary hiſtorian, relates that Charles V. ſome days before his death, ſent for the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon, and ſpoke to them as follows; "My brothers in-law, I am "fully convinced that according to the laws of nature I have not "long to live. I therefore recommend my ſon ‡ Charles to your "care: behave to him as good uncles ought to their nephew. Let "his coronation ſucceed my death as ſoon as poſſible; and ſhew your "loyalty to him by your wiſe counſel. My whole confidence is pla-"ced in you: the boy is young, and full of levity; and will have "great occaſion to be conducted and directed. An aſtrologer, "whom

2 vol. 97.

‡ Charles VI.

" whom I have long conſulted, aſſures me that in his youth he will be " involved in great difficulties, and be ſurrounded with great and perilous " adventures. I have reflected very ſeriouſly on this ſubject, and can- " not find from whence the ſtorm ſhould ariſe unleſs from the ſide of " Flanders; for, God be praiſed, the frontiers of our kingdom are in " good condition. The duke of Brittany is thoughtful, cunning, and " unſteady; and has always had a heart more Engliſh than French. " This makes it neceſſary that you ſtudy to preſerve the affection of the " nobles, and of the conſiderable towns; as a means to counterwork " his ambiguous deſigns. I am well ſatisfied with the Bretons: they " always ſerved me faithfully, and aſſiſted me in defending my king- " dom againſt my enemies. Therefore create the Sieur Cliſſon, con- " ſtable; for, all things conſidered, I ſee no one proper for that com- " mand but himſelf."

The juſtice this great prince rendered to the Bretons was very much their due. The Engliſh were in poſſeſſion of Perigord, Xaintonge, Rouargue, Zimouſin, Angoumoirs, Poitou, Anjou, and Maine. They were diſpoſſeſſed of all theſe provinces by Dugueſclin, Cliſſon, and de Rieux. And at the attack of every city, or caſtle, the troops of Brittany were always diſtinguiſhed. In regard to their duke, whom France had ever oppoſed, and who was indebted only to his brother in law the king of England for the advantages he obtained over *Charles of Blois*, it was natural enough that " his heart ſhould be more Engliſh than French." But " his ambiguous deſigns" were fruſtrated; and when, in 1372, he introduced ſome Engliſh troops into the dutchy, the nobles immediately appeared in arms, and publiſhed a declaration, that though they had ſworn allegiance and fidelity to him, they thought themſelves abſolved from their oath whenever he entered into alliance with the enemies of France, their mother country. In carrying on the war againſt their duke they forced him to fly to London for protection. It is certain that Charles V. (taking advantage of this circumſtance) wanted to annex the dutchy of Brittany to his crown. But the ſame nobles oppoſed his intention: remonſtrating to him, " that as Brittany was not originally an appendage to France, it could not poſſibly be liable to confiſcation. That they never ſhould have taken arms againſt their duke, but to oblige him to baniſh foreign forces; and had never pretended to the leaſt right of depriving him of his inheritance. On the contrary their faith was pledged to preſerve it to him, and they would ſhed the laſt drop of their blood to defend *the rights of their country.*" The nobles then entered into an aſſociation; they purſued the moſt

proper meaſures; rejected with indignation the inſinuations of ſome wretches amongſt them who pretended to eſpouſe the intereſt of their country only to betray it; oppoſed the invaſions of the French with ſuch courage and magnanimity, that Dugueſclin and Cliſſon made no figure in this expedition. The king of France entruſted them with the command of the troops in Brittany but they were unable to execute any important enterprize; and were obliged to retire, attended only with the ignominy of being regarded with horrour by a country that many years thought it her glory to have given them birth. It appears, by Froiſſard's account, the Bretons had not loſt the king's favour: his laſt orders were to make peace with them, on condition that their duke, whom they had recalled, renewed his homage to the crown of France, and renounced the Engliſh alliance, which was accordingly agreed to.

I ſhall conclude this article with ſome more particulars relative to the Hotel de Cliſſon. This houſe, ſays Paſquier, the Pariſians made a preſent of to the conſtable of that name, at the time he received orders to puniſh a ſedition in 1383. He adds, that the gold M. Ms. with a crown over them, upon the walls, ſignify the word mercy: and that the Hotel de Cliſſon, and the Hotel de la Miſéricorde were ſynonymous appellations.

Hiſtoire généalogique de France T. 6.

Paſquier is miſtaken, for Charles V. gave Cliſſon in the year 1371, four thouſand livres to buy this houſe; and if it afterwards acquired the name of the Hotel de la Miſéricorde, it was from the Pariſians running thither to petition for mercy: the conſequence of which was, that Cliſſon interceded for them; falling on his knees to the king in the court of the palace, to obtain their pardon, as all writers mention. As to the M. M. and the crown, this was a military ornament in houſes, repreſenting a certain kind of hanger, called *miſéricorde*, with which the ancient knights uſed to give the finiſhing ſtroke to their enemies, after they were vanquiſhed. Francis de Guiſe purchaſed this houſe, changing its name to the *Hotel de Guiſe*; and his ſon Henry, ſurnamed * *le Balafré*, who wanted to have made a monk of Henry III, and with his brother the cardinal was killed at Blois, reſided in it. Walking one day in a gallery adorned by Cliſſon with hiſtorical paintings, repreſenting the principal actions of his own life and thoſe of Dugueſclin, "I always regard Dugueſclin with peculiar pleaſure, ſaid the duke, his was the glory to dethrone a † tyrant!" That tyrant was not his king! replied le Seneſchal

† Don Pedro, king of Caſtille.

* Balafré (ſlaſhed, gaſhed,) ſo called from the number of wounds received and cicatrized in his face in battle.

Seneſchal * boldly. His father was that John le Seneſchal, gentleman of the bedchamber to Francis I. who obſerving a muſquet levelled at the king, defended him with his body, and was killed on the ſpot. In 1697, Francis de Rahan Soubiſe bought the Hotel de Guiſe, which he greatly enlarged and embelliſhed: Amongſt other improvements he added the Periſtyle of double columns round the court.

* Carcado.

STREET † DE LA CULTURE, ST. CATHERINE.

† From ſome cultivated ground belonging to the religious of that order.

THE duke of Orleans, brother to Charles VI. was very fond of a jeweſs whom he viſited with great ſecrecy. Having ſome reaſon to ſuſpect that his chamberlain and favourite, Peter de Craon, lord of *Sablé* and *Ferté Bernard*, had diverted the dutcheſs his wife with the particulars of this intrigue, he diſmiſſed him from his court in the moſt mortifying manner. Craon imputed his diſgrace partly to the influence of the conſtable Cliſſon. Reſolving on revenge, he waited at the corner of this ſtreet on the 13th or 14th of June 1391, when, ſeeing him coming towards his houſe, almoſt unattended, he fell upon him with a party of twenty ruffians. Cliſſon made a brave defence, though he had no other arms but a ſmall hanger: wounded in three places, he at length fell from his horſe, into a houſe whoſe door happened to be half open. The news of this aſſaſſination was carried immediately to the king who was juſt ſtepping into bed. "He wrapped himſelf in his great coat, had his ſhoes buckled on, and ran to the houſe where he was told his conſtable was murthered." The king found him in a baker's ſhop, weltering in his blood: when his wounds on examination were not found dangerous, Charles ſaid to him, "Conſtable, as this vile attempt is unparalleled ſo ſhall be its reparation."

The next day Cliſſon was reported to have made his will; and great clamours aroſe on his diſpoſing of ſeventeen hundred thouſand livres. Let it be obſerved in his defence, that in five and twenty years attachment to the intereſt of France, he fought, and conquered the Engliſh in every engagement. He gained the famous battle of Roſebec, and chaſtiſed the Flemiſh troops. For twelve years he had enjoyed the appointments and pay of conſtable of France, and beſides was very rich in eſtates, domains, and caſtles, inherited from his anceſtors in Britony and Poitou! But in every age the world ſeverely cenſures a general, or a miniſter, however important the ſervices he has rendered his country may have been, if he leaves behind him more than a moderate fortune. Yet their accumulations are almoſt always leſs conſiderable than

thoſe of an obſcure perſon, whoſe tendency leads him to employ himſelf about a ſcore of years in gathering part of the king's revenues.

The CIMETIERE *(or Church-yard) of* ST. JOHN.

THE poſſeſſions of * Peter de Craon were all forfeited; his houſe pulled down; and the ground it ſtood upon given to the pariſh of St. John for a burial ground. It has been ſince converted into a market. Craon obtained his pardon in 1395, at the interceſſion of the king of England, and became a recluſe. It appears that in making his eſcape after his attempt on Cliſſon, he was terrified with the apprehenſion of being taken and put to death without confeſſion. And that, like a good Chriſtian! when he returned to court, he remembered his fear, and ſolicited the king (Charles VI.) ſo ſtrongly that he at length publiſhed a declaration bearing date the 12th of February 1396, by which the cuſtom of refuſing confeſſion to condemned criminals was aboliſhed. In the preceding reign Philip de Maizieres, as compaſſionate as Craon for the wicked, had ineffectually ſolicited a like declaration: "The preſident of the council, ſays he in one of his works, was ſo "obſtinately intoxicated with error, as well as ſeveral other counſel-"lors, that it would have been eaſier to turn the wheels of a mill "againſt the courſe of the ſtream than to perſuade them to change "their opinion." Undoubtedly the preſident and thoſe "ſeveral other counſellors" believed, (and with reaſon) that the refuſal of confeſſion was one of the ſtrongeſt barriers againſt crimes.

I have remarked that in thoſe ages when letters had not yet ſoftened the manners of mankind, the execution of criminals was a ſpectacle exhibited with a kind of parade, and frequently made a day of feſtivity.

It was common (ſays Montfaucon) to oblige thoſe who were led to execution to reſt at ſome particular places: the court of the hoſpital of *Filles Dieu* was one. Here they were ſerved with a glaſs of wine and three pieces of holy bread: this collation was ſtiled *the priſoners laſt morſel,* which if he eat with a keen appetite, was a good augury for his ſoul. James d' Armagnac, duke of Nemours and la Marche, already mentioned to have been executed for high treaſon in the reign of Louis XI. Auguſt 4, 1477, was conducted to this court, from the Baſtille; mounted on a horſe capariſoned with black cloth. The apartment in the fiſh-market, where he was to reſt, was hung with † *Perſe Serge,* and ſprinkled with vinegar and burnt Geneva, to take out the fiſhy ſmell. During the time of confeſſion, his judges had a repaſt of *twelve*

* Peter de Craon was a deſcendant of Renaud Count of Nevers, and Adelle of France, daughter to king Robert. This houſe has been long extinct.

Le Songe du vi. Pelerin. Liv. 3. c. 68.

† A colour between blue and green.

twelve pints of wine, white bread and pears: and after this ceremony, he was led to the ſcaffold through a gallery purpoſely erected, where the minute circumſtance of a ſtuffed cuſhion for him to kneel on was not forgotten. The executioner, after dipping the head into a tub of cold water, diſplayed it to the populace. The melancholy ſcene was terminated by a proceſſion of a hundred and fifty cordeliers, with lighted torches, bearing an open coffin, in which the head and trunk of the unfortunate duke de Nemours were placed: they then proceeded to their monaſtery ſinging a ſolemn dirge, firſt receiving a ſum of money for his interment.

(Reg. du Parlement) (Compte du Domaine de Paris 1478.)

* COQUETIERE, *or* COQUILLIERE STREET.

* From the ſellers of eggs and poultry, who held a market here; or, more certainly from Peter Coquilliere a citizen of Paris, who lived here in 1269.

THE workmen employed in repairing Mr. Berrier's houſe, which ſtands near the end of this ſtreet, on the ſide next St. Euſtatius, found in digging 12 feet deep in the garden, the foundation of an ancient edifice; and, amongſt the ruins of an old tower, they met with a buſt of antique bronze, a little larger than the life. Whether this head was deſigned for Cybele, Iſis, or the goddeſs † Lutetia, antiquarians are not agreed. The hexagonal tower with which it is crowned, the common ſymbol of Cybele, appears to Monſieur Moreau de Maubour a convincing proof of its being a head of that goddeſs. Cybele certainly was held in great veneration by the Gauls; and whenever they thought their harveſt in danger, they always placed her ſtatue in a car drawn by oxen; leading it round their corn-fields and vineyards; the people running before it ſinging and dancing; and the principal magiſtrates following, barefooted.

† The deification of cities was as frequent as that of mortals.

The CORDELIERS STREET.

GILLES DAUPHIN, ſuperior of their order, in conſideration of ſome advantages granted them by the parliament of Paris, ſent a permiſſion in the year 1503, to the preſidents, counſellors, and regiſters to bury in the habit of Cordeliers. The next year the provoſt, ſheriffs, and principal officers of the city were indulged with the ſame mark of favour. Such a permiſſion is not to be regarded merely as a piece of politeneſs, if the fact is true that St. Francis makes his deſcent into purgatory regularly once a year, to draw out the ſouls of thoſe who are buried in the habit of his order!

Hiſt. Eccles. de Choiſi, ann. 1333. Relat. de Frafier.

L' Etoile tells a ſtory in his memoirs for the year 1577, "of a very "beautiful girl, dreſt in men's cloaths, who called herſelf Anthony, "and

" and was diſcovered, and ſeized in the convent of the Cordeliers. " Friar Jaques Berſon was one of the perſons ſhe waited upon, who " went by the name of the Child of Paris, and the Cordelier with " the fine hand. Theſe reverend fathers unanimouſly declared " they really thought her a boy! a declaration agreeable to their con- " ſcientious regard to truth. As to this female Ganymede, ſhe was " diſcharged after ſuffering the laſh; a great injury to the purity of " this decent perſon, who ſaid ſhe was a married woman, led by devoti- " on to be the ſervant of theſe good monks ten or twelve years, among " whom ſhe had never had occaſion to be alarmed for her honour." Women have ſometimes mighty odd fits of devotion! though poſſibly ſhe might hope by this means to avoid ſtaying long in purgatory.

St. Croix de la Bretonnerie Street.

THIS quarter of the city, in St. Louis's reign, had only a few houſes, ſcattered and remote from each other. One of theſe was occupied by Renaud de Brehan, viſcount de Podoure and de L' Iſle. In 1225 he married the daughter of Llewellyn, prince of wales, and came to Paris to conduct ſome ſecret negotiation againſt England. On the Friday or Saturday night in Paſſion week, 1228, five Engliſhmen entered his orchard, treating him with defiance and inſult. He had only his chaplain with him, and one domeſtick, but they ſeconded him ſo well that three of the Engliſhmen were ſlain, and the other two made their eſcape. The chaplain died of his wounds the next day; and Brehan, before he left Paris, purchaſed the houſe and orchard, and gave them to his faithful domeſtick Galleran. The name of *Britons-field* given to the orchard or garden in memory of this combat, became that of the whole ſtreet, which it retained till the cloſe of the thirteenth century.

St. DENIS's STREET, *and* GATE.

THE kings and queens always made their publick entry through the gate of St. Denis. All the ſtreets leading to *Notre Dame* were adorned with tapeſtry, and generally covered with an awning of ſilk or camblet. Fountains of perfumed water ſcented the air: others ran with mead, wine, and milk. The deputies of the ſix trading companies carried the canopy of ſtate; followed by the companies of artificers, dreſt in proper characters, " to perſonate the ſeven deadly ſins. " And the ſeven virtues, faith, hope, and charity, juſtice, prudence, " fortitude and temperance: Theſe were followed by death, purga-

" tory,

" tory, Hell and Paradiſe," all mounted on ſumptuous horſes. At proper diſtances, theatres were erected, where pantomime actors, with interludes of muſick entertained the people with epiſodes from the old and new teſtament. As " Abraham offering up his ſon Iſaac. The combat of David and Goliah. Balaam's aſs reaſoning with the prophet. " The Angels annunciation to the ſhepherds of the birth of Chriſt, " with the adoration hymn, *&c.*" Monſtrelet. John Chenu.

Froiſſard ſays, that when Iſabella of Bavaria made her entry at the * Painter's-Gate, in St. Denis ſtreet, " an arch was erected, repreſenting an azure ſky, richly ſpangled with ſtars, and variegated clouds, ſurrounding God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, enthorned in glory. Little children of the choir, under the appearance of angels, ſung ſoft and ſweet airs from this imaginary Heaven. " And as the queen paſt in an open car under the gate of Paradiſe, " two of the Angels deſcended, bearing a very ſplendid crown of " gold, enriched with gems, and placing it gently on her majeſty's brow " ſung theſe verſes "

* Almoſt oppoſite to little Lion ſtreet.

" Lady, girt with lillies fair,
" Queen of Paradiſe you are,
" Of France, and all beneath the ſkies!
" We now return to Paradiſe.

Charles VI. (as Juvenal des Urſins writes) was curious to ſee this ceremony; and addreſſing himſelf to his favourite, " Savoiſi, ſays the king, " I beg you will mount my beſt horſe, and I will get up behind; we " will diſguiſe ourſelves in ſuch a manner it ſhall be impoſſible to " know us; and we will have a full view of my wife when ſhe enters " the city! — Accordingly they went through back ſtreets and " lanes, till they got to the *Chatelet*, at the hour the queen was " to paſs by. The croud was very great, and a number of ſerjeants " with great ſtaffs to keep off the mob, dealt their blows to the right " and left very freely. Every time the king and Savoiſi tried to get " near, the ſerjeants, who little ſuſpected who they were, beat them " away with their ſtaffs. Several of the blows alighted heavily on his " majeſty's ſhoulders; and that evening, before the ladies of the " court, was the thing related; and they made themſelves very merry " about it, the king himſelf jeſting heartily upon the beating he had " undergone."

On the following day the citizens of Paris, as was cuſtomary on ſuch occaſions, went with magnificent preſents to Charles VI. and preſenting Froiſſard.

preſenting them upon their knee, ſaid to him, "Moſt dear and noble "Sire, your citizens of Paris preſent your majeſty with theſe jewels." *Theſe were vaſes of gold.* "Gramercy! ſaid the king, they are rich and precious!" They then waited upon the queen, to whom they deputed a bear, and a unicorn, to offer gifts in their name, ſtill more coſtly. Nothing, in thoſe times, was thought ſo ingenious as the invention of ſuch kind of maſquerade ſhows: Nor was this the firſt, or the laſt, public ſolemnity, that cities have choſen brutes for their repreſentatives!

Ceremonial Francis.

The entry of Louis XI. was accompanied with a well imagined, and very pleaſing deſign. "At the Fountain of Ponceau, a groupe of pretty girls appeared in the attitude of Syrens. Their lovely boſoms with no other covering than their auburn locks; ſinging little ſonnets and paſtoral dialogues compoſed for the occaſion."

Malingre, pag. 298.

When Queen Anne of Brittany made her proceſſion they carried their attention to the minuteſt particulars. I forgot to obſerve that in all theſe ceremonies the popular cry of joy and acclamation was not *long live the king, or queen*, as it now is, but *Noel! Noel!* that is, our wiſhes are accompliſhed.

STREET *of the* PRIESTS *of* CHRISTIANITY, *in the* FAUXBOURG ST. VICTOR.

THEIR houſe and the whole ſtreet were formerly known by the name of the *Arena field*; from a tradition that *(a)* Chilperic I. formed a circus there in 577. It is well known that amongſt the ancient Romans, the Circus was a place appropriated to public games, particularly the chariot, and horſe race. The *Arena* was that part of the Circus deſtined for the combats of gladiators, and of wild beaſts. It was a favourite diverſion of Pepin the Short to ſee a battle between lions and bulls. And Philip of Valois bought a menagerie in Froid-manteau ſtreet near the Louvre, conſiſting of lions, bears, and bulls; adjoining

(a) Chilperic (who is little ſpoken of but in regard to his wife Fredegonde) was a monarch of a very ſingular caſt; if the deſcription left us by Gregory de Tours is juſt. He believed himſelf a great Theologian, and publiſhed an edict forbidding any of his ſubjects for the future to make uſe of the words *Trinity* or *Perſons*, in ſpeaking of the Deity; ſaying it degraded the divine Majeſty to ſpeak of it in the ſame terms we do of men. He piqued himſelf alſo on being a poet and a very learned grammarian. He added to the alphabet uſed in his time, four characters which, ſeverally, expreſſed certain words, compoſed of different letters. Theſe additional characters were the Greek *omega*, *pſi*, *zeta*, and *pi*. Orders were diſpatched to all the provinces to correct the old authors, conformably to this orthography; and to teach it in the ſchools. The ancient orthography had its Martyrs: and two ſchool-maſters in particular, rather choſe to loſe their ears than adopt the new, which was of no longer duration than the life of Chilperic.

(Greg. Turon. Hiſt. Lib. 5.)

adjoining to the Hotel St. Paul was the * Lions Tower; a ſtreet built upon the ſpot ſtill retains the name.

* See Lion ſtreet.

L' Etoile ſays, "that in the year 1583, Henry III. after performing his Eaſter devotions at the monaſtery of Bons-hommes, (or good men) returned to the Louvre, and had his collection of wild beaſts ſhot, owing to his dreaming they had devoured him. A dream, which ſeemed to portend that the furious beaſts of the *League*, would ruſh with ferocious violence on this unhappy prince and his people."

The manners of the moderns are ſo different, that we no longer find pleaſure in ſeeing animals deſtroy each other: and if our princes ſtill have lions and tygers in their menageries, they are only kept as rarities. Yet, without delighting in ſuch cruel paſtimes, we are certainly as brave as the Romans.

La Vielle (*or* Old) Drapery Street.

AT the corner of this ſtreet ſtood the houſe of that execrable John Châtel who attempted the life of Henry IV. and wounded him with a knife in the upper lip, on Tueſday December 27, 1594. The ſpace where the houſe ſtood, which was razed to the ground, is now the little ſquare before the great gate of the palace. An obeliſk was erected with ſome inſcriptions, which was taken down in 1605.

Extract of a letter of Henry IV. ſent to the principal cities of France immediately after Chatel's attempt.

"We had not been more than an hour in Paris, after our journey "from Picardy, and were ſtill in boots; ſurrounded by our couſins the "prince of Conti, the counts of Soiſſons and St. Paul, with thirty or "forty of the principal lords and gentlemen of our court: turning "to receive the compliments of the Sieurs de Ragni, and de "Montigni, a young boy called John Châtel, little, and not above "nineteen years old, having entered our apartment with the company "unobſerved, made an attempt to ſtab us in the body as we ſtooped to "raiſe the Sieurs de Ragni and de Montigni: but miſſing his aim we "received the wound on the right ſide of the upper lip; which the "knife cut through, with the loſs of a tooth.——Praiſed be God! "the pain was ſo inconſiderable that it did not haſten our uſual hour "of retiring."

By an article in the interrogatories of John Châtel it appears, that after his confinement, the preſident of the council examined carefully into his motives for this action, and made no doubt of his being an agent, armed at all points by fanataciſm.

(Queſtion) "Who gave him the *Agnus Dei*, the relicks of Our La-
"dy's ſhift, and the beads he wore round his neck? And if he had not
"been perſuaded to aſſaſſinate the king from a preſumption that theſe
"would render him invulnerable, and that no accident could befal
"him?"

(Anſwer) "The *Agnus Dei*, and the relicks of Our Lady's
"ſhift were given him by his mother; and the beads he ſtrung
"himſelf."

There were ſome preſumptive circumſtances againſt his father, but the mother and ſiſters were entirely innocent of the plot. He ſupported the torture, ordinary and extraordinary, and even death itſelf; ſtill perſiſting that he never communicated his intention to any perſon, and "had undertaken the deed of his own voluntary motion."

(Queſtion) What were his inducements to murther the king?

(Anſwer) "As an expiation for his ſins, he believed it incumbent
"on him to do ſome memorable and uſeful act, beneficial to the Ro-
Journal de Henry IV. anno 1594. "man-catholic, apoſtolic religion: and, having failed once, were it
"in his power, he would make a ſecond attempt."

(Queſtion) Did any perſon perſuade him to kill the king?

(Anſwer) He had heard it aſſerted in many places, "that it ought
"to be held as a true maxim in religion, when a king was diſap-
"proved by the pope it was laudable to kill him! an opinion ge-
"nerally received."

This wretch ſpoke but too much truth. It was ſcarcely a year ſince the majority of the eccleſiaſtics, and moſt of the monks taught it from the pulpit; at the confeſſional; and in their Theſis's!

The Sieur de Piganiol (who has only literally tranſcribed Sauval's antiquities of Paris) ſays, "Henry IV. was wounded by John Châtel
* Now belongs to the fathers of the Oratory. "in the court of the Hotel * du Bouchage, then the Hotel d'Eſtrees,
"where the fair Gabrielle lived." But the whole courſe of the pleadings makes it evident that this attempt was made in one of the halls of the *Louvre*. Beſides, the Hotel du Bouchage was never called d'Eſtrees, and at that very time Gabrielle d'Eſtrees lived at the Hotel de Schomberg, yet remaining in Bailleul ſtreet, at the back of the Hotel d'Aligré, where the great council aſſembles.

DES ECRIVAINS (*or* SCRIVENER'S) STREET.

NICHOLAS FLAMEL dwelt in the corner-houſe, between this and Marivault ſtreet. His effigy, with that of Pernella his wife, are, according to tradition, ſtill to be ſeen on the door-poſts,

with

with Gothic inſcriptions, and ſuppoſed hieroglyphics. This man's ſtory is very remarkable.

He was born of obſcure parents, without wealth, and brought up a ſcrivener, which is not a way of life to acquire great riches. Yet, ſuddenly, his liberalities diſcovered him poſſeſſed of an immenſe fortune. The application he made of it is a rare inſtance! He was only rich for the unfortunate! was there a worthy family fallen into decay; a girl whom diſtreſs, perhaps, had drawn into irregularity; a tradeſman or artificer overburthened with children; a widow, or an orphan, mourning over a huſband's, or a father's grave; theſe were the objects of Flamel's munificence! He alſo endowed hoſpitals, repaired churches; and partly rebuilt that of Innocents. Naudé has attributed the riches of Flamel to the concern he had in the Jews affairs; and adds that, when they were baniſhed from France, 1394, and their eſtates confiſcated to the crown, he was employed to treat with their debtors; and that he accepted the moiety of what they owed, under promiſe of never diſcovering the fraud. Naudé and Piganiol who alledge this fact, could not have advanced ſo great a falſhood, had they read the *declarations* of Charles VI. relative to the expulſion of the Jews. The firſt, bearing date September 17, 1394, ſets forth, that, though he had exiled them for ever from his kingdom, it was not his intention that their perſons ſhould be inſulted, or their wealth pillaged. He, moreover, enjoined all perſons who owed them any debts to pay them within a month, under penalty of forfeiting their pledges; and ſuch as had not depoſited any pledges, were to ſatisfy their obligations, and cancel them before the expiration of that term. By another *declaration*, March 2, 1395, four months after their baniſhment, he forbids all debtors to the Jews, henceforth, to pay them a farthing; ſilences all law-ſuits already commenced, giving orders to ſet at liberty all perſons impriſoned on their account. And in order to put a final concluſion to this affair, by his laſt *declaration* of the 30th of January 1397, he commands the provoſt of Paris to burn and deſtroy all ſecurities made to the Jews. By theſe ordonnances it is demonſtrative that ſince the king himſelf abſolved his ſubjects from all debts contracted with theſe infamous uſurers, Flamel could never have enriched himſelf by threatening their debtors with a diſcovery of fraud.

Several perſons had the curioſity to dig under the floor of his cellars. In different parts they found urns, glaſs-bottles, ſmall vials, and charcoal; beſides ſome ſtone-pots filled with a certain kind of calcined mi-

neral, as heavy as glue. It is uncertain whether he was buried at St. James's of the Butchery, or in the vault of the Innocents.

Nay Paul Lucas ſeems even to be doubtful whether he is not yet alive. He gives a ſerious relation of an acquaintance he made with a derviſe in Aſia, who ſpoke all languages; and did not ſeem to be more than thirty years of age, though he had already lived above a century. "This derviſe (ſays Lucas) informed me that Flamel was in poſſeſſion "of the philoſopher's ſtone, and apprehending he ſhould be confined "if it was diſcovered, reſolved to leave France, and found means to ac- "compliſh it by ſpreading a falſe report of his own and his wife's death. "The method he purſued was this, Pernella feigned a diſtemper which "baffled all the art of medicine: and at the time ſhewas reported to be "dead, ſhe was travelling on the borders of Switzerland, were ſhe had "orders to wait for her huſband. A log of wood ſupplied her place in "the coffin; and that no ceremony might be omitted it was buried in one "of thoſe churches ſhe had rebuilt. Flamel afterwards had recourſe "to the ſame ſtratagem on his own account. As gold is irreſiſtable, "he found no difficulty in gaining the phyſicians and clergy; leaving "a will properly executed, wherein he recommended to them the care "of laying him in the ſame grave with his wife, and erecting a pyra- "mid over the place of their interment. Whilſt this philoſopher "was on the road to re-join his wife, a ſecond log of wood was de- "cently depoſited in the tomb. From that period they have both en- "joyed a philoſophical life in various parts of the globe. I am "their intimate friend, and it is but three years ſince I left them "in India."

Voyage de Paul Lucas dans L' Aſie Mineure T. 1. c. 12.

Paul Lucas was a penſioner of Louis XIV. and travelled by his command. Reveries of this nature, not infrequently to be met with in the travels he publiſhed, do no great honour to the miniſter who ſelected and introduced him to his ſovereign.

D' ENFER *(or Hell)* STREET, *near the* LUXEMBOURG PALACE.

ST. LOUIS was ſo edified by the recital of the auſtere and ſpeculative life of the diſciples of St. Bruns, that he ſent for half a dozen of them; and gave them a houſe, garden, and vineyard, extending as far as the village of Gentilli. Theſe Carthuſians had a proſpect from their windows of the palace of Vauvert, built by king Robert but neglected by his ſucceſſors. They thought it a very convenient ſpot for a monaſtery, which the neighbourhood of Paris would render very agreeable. By the luckieſt chance in the world for them, ſome demons,

or

or ghoſts, thought proper to take poſſeſſion of this old caſtle; terrible howlings were heard in it; and ſpectres ſeen dragging their chains. Amongſt others a green monſter appeared, with a great white beard, half man, half ſerpent, armed with a maſſy club, which he brandiſhed in a threatening poſture at all travellers, who were unfortunately benighted. What could be done with a caſtle ſo haunted? Why theſe monks begged it of St. Louis, who granted it with all its appurtenances and dependancies. The ghoſts never more reſorted there; the name of Hell only remains to the ſtreet to perpetuate the memory of the riotous pranks the devils had formerly played.

Some etymologiſts are of opinion that St. James's ſtreet was anciently called *Via ſuperior*, or the upper way; and this, from its ſituation, *Via inferior*, or *infera*, the lower way. From whence by corruption and contraction it in time came to be called D' Enfer, or Hell ſtreet. Others ſay that beggars, robbers, and excommunicated perſons withdrawing into theſe little-frequented parts of the city, and diſturbing the neighbourhood with perpetual outcries, oaths, quarrels, and abuſe, they beſtowed on it this diabolical appellation.

De la Ferronerie *(or Ironmongers)* Street.

IT happened on Friday the 14th of May 1610, about four in the afternoon, that the entanglement of two carts obliged the coach of Henry IV. (*b*) to ſtop about the middle of this ſtreet, which at that time was extreamly narrow. Ravilliac who had followed him from the Louvre, climbed up one of the ſpokes of the hind wheel, and with two ſtabs of a knife aſſaſſinated the king, who inſtantly expired.

" It was an aſtoniſhing thing (ſays L' Etoile) that none of the lords " in the coach ſaw the perſon who gave the wound! And had this " monſter thrown away his knife, (*c*) it probably might never have " been known to whom it belonged." Henry was reading a letter from the count of Soiſſons. The duke d' Epêrnon ſat on his right hand, backward. The marſhals Lavardin and Roquelaure, at the door on the duke's ſide of the coach. At the oppoſite door, next his majeſty, were the duke of Monbazon, and the marquis de la Force. Forward, ſat the marquis of Mirebeau, and du Pleſſis Liancourt.

A devil, ſays Nicholas Paſquier, appeared to Ravilliac, and ſaid to him " Go on; ſtrike boldly; you ſhall find them all blind." This devil Lettre premiere.

(*b*) He was going to the Arſenal, and as the day was fine, had thrown back the landau, to ſee the preparations that were making for the queen's grand entry.

(*c*) When he was taken there came ſeven or eight perſons round him with drawn ſwords, calling out, put him to death directly, but they were preſently loſt in the croud.

devil might very likely be one of thoſe perſons who came with drawn ſwords after he was ſeized, and would have killed him.

I ſhall avoid entering into a detail of confuſed circumſtances that can determine nothing, and with which few perſons are unacquainted. I only mean to give my opinion of the two guilty wretches, whoſe traitorous hands were armed againſt one of the beſt and greateſt monarchs. John Chatel did not exceed nineteen years of age; was educated by the Jeſuits; and finiſhed a courſe of philoſophy in their univerſity. His father was a tradeſman, who, as appears by the examination of this unhappy man, indulged him in every thing; firm in his abominable principles; ſimple, ſincere, and uniform in his replies; in the ſtyle of a true *fanatic*, he was unmoved at the preſence of his judges, regarding himſelf as a martyr, and conſidering the puniſhment of his crime, as the propitiation for his ſins. After ſuſtaining the torture, "I "accuſe myſelf (ſaid this bigot to his confeſſor, with the utmoſt "humility) of diſcovering ſome impatience at the time I was "tormented; I beſeech the Lord to pardon me, and forgive my "perſecutors."

Ravilliac, at the age of thirty two, was poor; boaſted of extraordinary revelations; and would rage like a madman at the very name of a Huguenot. He appeared a proper inſtrument to execute that horrible attempt which was the reſult of deep premeditation. One may eaſily perceive through the courſe of his trial, that in him fanaticiſm was leſs real than affected. He ſometimes feigned an ignorant ſtupidity in his anſwers. "The pope is God, (ſaid he) and God is the pope." At other times he would ſpeak like a ſenſible man, not illiberally educated. He would lie, vary in his ſtory, groan and lament his misfortune, of failing in (*d*) reſolution to reſiſt the temptations of the devil. He entreated his judges "not to drive his ſoul into perdition by the violence of the torture;" acknowledging himſelf guilty of an enormous crime, but always aſſerting that no perſon inſtigated him to commit it: his chief inducement for killing the king being the aſſurances he received that this prince projected a war againſt the

Journal of Henry IV. 1616. Nic. Raſquiere, lettre premiere.

(*d*) He declared he never was out of the kingdom.—It was proved he had been ſeen at Naples. He declared he had never revealed to any perſon whatſoever, not even in confeſſion, his intention to kill the king.—More than a year before, the prior of the Auguſtins of Montargis, found a letter on the altar, authorizing him to inform the king, "that a ſtout, red-haired man, a native of Angoulême" would endeavour to aſſaſſinate him. The prior, having conſulted with the lieutenant general, and the chief perſons of the city, reſolved to ſend this letter with the verbal proceſs they had made in the affair, to the chancellor, who unfortunately neglected the information. The legality and authenticity of this proof make it evident that Ravilliac muſt have entruſted ſomebody with his diabolical deſign.

the pope. Could there be a poſſibility, ſay ſome perſons, that in the hour of torture he would forbear accuſing thoſe who had ſeduced him? Whether in an open manner, or privately remitting him ſmall ſums of money from time to time, by their emiſſaries? But, perhaps he was conſtantly buoyed up with the hope that they would ſave his life: Beſides it is a certain fact that on the firſt pull of the horſes he requeſted to be unbound; that he then dictated his dying confeſſion; and that the regiſter took pains to write this confeſſion ſo illegibly that the moſt ſkilful decypherers were never able to read it.

German Brice declares "that when Ravilliac was ſeized they carried him firſt to the Hotel de Retz, now the Hotel de Condé." This would have been a long way to have carried him. I know the preſent Hotel de Condé was then called de Gondi, but I alſo know that the duke of Retz, John Baptiſt de Gondi, had likewiſe another houſe near the Louvre, * which was the place this monſter was conducted to. Here he remained two days, chained down and guarded by a company of archers.—"When he was put to the queſtion in all its rigour, continues German Brice, he confeſſed things ſo incredible, that the judges ſurprized and terrified, bound themſelves by an oath on the Holy Evangeliſts, never to diſcloſe them, dreading the terrible conſequences that might follow. They alſo burnt the depoſitions and the whole verbal proceſs, before they quitted the apartment, ſo that there only remained ſome ſlight ſuſpicions, on which no certain judgment could ever be founded to this day." There is not one word of truth in this whole narrative! For Ravilliac, at every renewal of the torture, perſevered in denying he had any accomplices. And if he did confeſs things incredible, it was not till he requeſted to be unlooſed at the firſt ſtretch the horſes gave.

Deſcrip. de Paris, T. 6. p. 219.

* In des Poulies ſtreet.

Some months after his execution, the wife of a gentleman, whoſe name was d' Ecoman, who had been ſtrongly attached to queen Margaret, accuſed the marquis of Vernueil, and the duke (e) of Epernon of being the authors of the king's murther.

"She ſpoke well, ſays L'Etoile, ſhewed a ſteady reſolution in her accuſation, and anſwers: was armed with weighty reaſons, and very ſubſtantial proofs, ſuch as threw the judges into the utmoſt amazement." Some judicial evidences were ſtill wanting; ſhe was unable to furniſh them; and was condemned to be ſhut up between four walls the reſt of her days.

Ann. 1611.

A

(e) His race is now extinct. His deſcendants, as well as thoſe of the duke of Lerma, in Spain, laſted no longer than the ſecond generation. I ſhall particularize under another article, for what reaſons, and in what manner, theſe two men plotted and conducted this conſpiracy.

A decree was iſſued to ſuppreſs the whole procedure. Now German Brice, who very frequently perplexes matters of fact, has confounded this procedure with Ravilliac's criminal proceſs. I ſhall conclude this ſubject with a paſſage from Sully's Memoirs, as it diſcovers the ſmall precaution Henry IV. uſed againſt thoſe attempts that ſo perpetually threatened his life. "I received advice from Rome, ſays "the duke of Sully, of a conſpiracy againſt his majeſty's perſon which "I did not think it right to conceal, though at the ſame time, I did "not think deſerved any attention. The king was of the ſame opini-"on, and ſaid to me on this occaſion, that he was convinced, unleſs "he would render his life more painful than death itſelf, he muſt en-"tirely diſregard ſuch informations. That the aſtrologers had ſome "of them foretold he would die by the ſword; others in a coach; but "not one had ever talked of poiſon; which appeared to him the eaſieſt "method of diſpatching him; ſince he eat a great quantity of fruit, "without any precaution, that upon the whole, he thought it beſt to "confide in the protection of the ſupreme diſpoſer of all events."

Dated July 3d 1611.

Memoires de Sulli ann. 1605.

LE * FOTR L' EVESQUE, *(or Biſhops Fort.)*

FORUM EPISCOPI. That is to ſay the biſhops ſeat of temporal juriſdiction. There were anciently nineteen lords-juſtices in Paris and the Fauxbourgs. The uncertain extent of their particular boundaries often cauſing diſputes in judicial proceedings, an edict was publiſhed in the month of February 1674, to incorporate and collect all theſe ſubaltern juſtices into one court called the Chatelet. The arch-biſhop of Paris, the chapter of Notre Dame, the abbot of St. Germain des Pres, the grand prior of France, the principal of the order of St. John de Latran, and the prior of St. Martin's in the Fields, ſtill retain the privilege of adminiſtering juſtice within their own precincts.

Adrian of Valois is of opinion that Fort l' Eveque is a corruption of Four l' Eveque, or the biſhop's oven: and that the common baking houſe, where the biſhop's vaſſals ſent their bread, occupied a part of this building, which is now a priſon.

STREET.

* Fort l' Eveque is now a kind of houſe of correction, or bridewell. All the players of the French theatre were lately ſent thither for refuſing to play in the famous ſiege of Calais, with one Dubois, a member of their company, who had perjured himſelf by ſwearing he had paid a debt to his ſurgeon, which it appeared he had never done.

STREET, DES FOSSES ST. GERMAIN. DE L' AUXERROIS.

THERE was a communication between the * Hotel de Sourdis and the cloiſter of St. Germain's church. Gabrielle d' Eſtrees, dutcheſs of Beaufort, lived in the deanery within the neighbourhood of the Louvre, as well as of her aunt the marchioneſs de Sourdis. She died on Eaſter Eve 1599. Sauval affirms, that he had known ſome old men who remembered her lying in ſtate in the great hall of the † dean's houſe; dreſt in a white ſattin robe, and la id upon a bed of crimſon velvet, embroidered with gold and ſilver. It ſeems rather improbable they ſhould chuſe to make a public ſpectacle of a perſon whoſe features were ſo entirely deformed by the terrible ſymptoms that attended her death. Gabrielle had paſt part of the time of Lent at Fontainebleau; but neither policy nor decency permitted Henry IV. to keep her with him in Eaſter week. He therefore entreated her to return to Paris, and accompanied her himſelf as far as Melun. Theſe lovers, ſays Sully, ſeemed to have a kind of preſcience that they never more ſhould meet. They overwhelmed each other with careſſes, tears ſtarting from their eyes, whilſt the peculiar tenderneſs of their expreſſions indicated a final adieu. The dutcheſs recommended to the king her children, her domeſticks, and her houſe at Monceaux. He liſtened to her with eagerneſs, and inſtead of endeavouring to remove her apprehenſions, ſoftened into ſympathetic ſorrow. They repeatedly took leave, ſtill had ſomething more to ſay, embraced anew, and yielded with reluctance to the neceſſity of a ſeparation. Gabrielle went to lodge at the houſe of Zamet, an Italian, who had acquired a vaſt fortune by being concerned in every kind of public exaction. This was he who in a marriage contract of one of his daughters ſtiled himſelf "Tuzezain lord of ſeventeen hundred thouſand crowns."

His pleaſant, lively diſpoſition made him very agreeable to Henry; who generally choſe to have his ſelect ſuppers, and parties of pleaſure at his houſe. The dutcheſs was received by her hoſt with all imaginable tranſport; and on Maundy Thurſday after eating heartily at dinner ſhe went to the church of Petit St. Anthony to hear the *Ténébres*; when ſhe found her head dizzy, and returned to take a walk in Zanet's garden, after firſt eating a citron, ſome ſay a ſallad: in an inſtant ſhe felt her throat all on fire, and ſuch excruciating pains in her ſtomach that ſhe cried out "let me be carried from this houſe immediately; I am poiſoned!" They accordingly removed her to her own houſe, where her torture encreaſed ſo violently as to throw her into con-

* By de Sourdis lane, which is not a thorough-fare.

† Oppoſite to the great gates of the church on the Louvre ſide.

Journal de Henry IV. 1599.

Confeſs de Sanci l. 2. Remarques, ſur le ch. 1.

D' Aubigne.

Memoirse de Sully.

convulſions, and ſhrieks ſo terrible that her whole frame was diſtorted; and none could behold without horrour, that face, a few hours before ſo beautiful! She expired about 7 o'clock on Saturday morning. (*f*) Henry IV. obliged the court to go into mourning; he himſelf wearing violet colour the firſt week, and black the ſecond. A writer of that time ſays "They poiſoned the king's miſtreſs becauſe "he had taken a reſolution to marry her. And in conſideration of "the diſturbances ſuch a marriage muſt have occaſioned, adds this "courtier, it was rendering an important ſervice to his majeſty, and "to the ſtate." This may be ſtate policy perhaps, but at the ſame time it muſt be granted, ſuch ſervices are more infamous than thoſe of the hangman! Beſides the generality of hiſtorians do not attribute this ſhocking death of Gabrielle to any thing more than the unhappy effects which ſometimes attend women when pregnant.

DU FOUARRE STREET.

THE Univerſity formerly comprehended this entire ſtreet: it derived its name Fouarre, (an obſolete word that ſignified ſtraw) from the great conſumption of ſtraw among the ſcholars; who were not ſeated on forms, but on the floor, covered with clean ſtraw. Anciently, there were neither benches nor ſeats in the churches, but they were ſtrewed with green ruſhes and odoriferous herbs; eſpecially at midnight maſs and all grand feſtivals.

RUE DES FRANCS-BOURGEOIS AU MARAIS, *or* FREEMEN'S STREET *of the* MORASS.

IN the year 1350, John Ruſſel and Alice his wife, built an hoſpital in this ſtreet (then called des Vielles Poulies) containing twenty four apartments for the reception of perſons reduced to indigence. In 1415, their deſcendants endowed it with ſeventy French livres per annum, and gave the perpetual right of nomination to the grand prior of France, on condition that he appointed two poor men to each almshouſe; paying them thirteen-pence at their entrance, and a penny a week during their lives. In conſideration of their inhabitants, theſe alms-houſes were freed from all taxes and impoſts, which is the origin of the name of this ſtreet.

There dwelt in one of theſe houſes in the year 1596, two beggars, who in their idle vocation had taken ſuch pains to imitate the ſound of

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(*f*) The marriage of Henry IV. with Mary de Medicis, began to be talked of; and as Zamet was a ſubject of the duke of Florence, his enemies ſuſpected him of a crime of which there never was any proof.

a hunting horn, and the cries of dogs, that at thirty paces diſtance any one would have believed it the huntſman and hounds in full cry. The deception was ſtrongeſt in ſolitary ſpots, where the rocks re-ecchoed and multiplied the fainteſt ſound. In all probability theſe two beggars were employed in an adventure which gained credit, as a ſupernatural appearance.

If the curioſity of Henry IV. had been excited enough to have advanced, they would undoubtedly have ſhot him; and then have propagated a report that, not being ſincere in his converſion, the devil was permitted to be his murtherer. The fact related by moſt of the cotemporary hiſtorians is as follows.

" The king was hunting in the foreſt of Fontainebleau when he heard the barking of dogs, with the horn of the hunters at about half a league diſtance. Suddenly this ſound which had ſeemed ſo remote, was not above twenty paces from him. He commanded the count of Soiſſons to ride forward full ſpeed to find out the meaning of it; ſuppoſing ſomebody had had the preſumption to diſturb the chace and interrupt his ſport. The count accordingly ſpurred his horſe till he came to the place whence the ſound proceeded, without perceiving any one: at length a gigantic black figure appeared in the thickeſt part of the foreſt, crying out in a terrible voice, " *Expect Me,* " and inſtantly vaniſhed. On hearing ſuch words the moſt courageous man would have thought it raſhneſs to hunt longer in a place where nothing was to be caught but fear. Though the hunters could never repeat this circumſtance without the utmoſt perturbation, they continued to relate the adventure; which ſeveral of their auditors would have placed amongſt the fabulous legends of Merlin, had not the reality of it been affirmed by ſo many eye and ear-witneſſes as prevented all ſhadow of doubt. The neighbouring ſhepherds ſay a ſpirit reſides in this foreſt, whom they ſtyle the *Great Hunter*. Others pretend that St. Hubert follows the chace, whoſe hounds are likewiſe heard in others parts of this kingdom."

P. Matthieu, l. 1. narrat. 5.

Journ. de regne de Henry IV. ann. 1598. ſupl.

The CHURCH *of* ST. GENEVIEVE.

THE train of cardinal Rochefoucault's monumental robe, in this church, is borne by an angel. It amazes me that the ſame extravagant imagination that created this page, inſtead of carving him half naked, ſhould not have beſtowed on him the cardinal's livery.

GRENELLE STREET, *in the Quarter of* ST. EUSTATIUS.

THAT hotel, where the amorous count of Soiſſons amuſed himſelf in decorating the windows, walls, and cielings with ingenious emblems and devices, interſperſed with the cyphers of Catherine of Navarre, ſiſter to Henry IV. and his own interwoven. That very hotel, which was afterwards the reſidence of the duke of Bellegarde, that courtier ſo amiable, ſo polite! The favourite lover of Gabrielle D' Eſtrees, of Madame, and Mademoiſelle de Guiſe, and of a thouſand others! Finally that hotel, which after the death of cardinal Richelieu became an aſylum for the muſes; where the French academy ſo long held its meetings; where Racine, Sarazine, and Voiture aſſembled, is at this day the Hotel des Fermes.

Jane d' Albret, mother of Henry IV. died on the 9th of June, 1572, in the third houſe from this hotel, the ſide of the ſtreet next St. Honoré. She was forty four years old; and was ill five days.

Some ſuſpicions of poiſon aroſe from a pair of ſcented gloves that René, an Italian, had ſold her; a noted villain, perfumer to Catherine de Medicis. According to Cayet, the ſurgeons diſcovered no ſymptoms of that nature. This lady could not decently refuſe appearing at Paris at the nuptials of her ſon. Beſides ſhe had been flattered with aſſurances that Charles IX. meditated a war againſt Philip the II. of Spain, (her irreconcileable enemy) to revenge the death of Elizabeth of France, his wife, whom he was reported to have poiſoned; and had accuſed of an intrigue with his ſon, don Carlos.

Chronolog. Novenaire.

In this age, no ſooner does a princeſs enter into the fifth month of her pregnancy than phyſicians, ſurgeons, and midwives aſſume the management of her conſtitution; ſcarcely will they allow her to ſaunter out of her apartment; the eaſieſt coach, and the fineſt road imaginable, are no ſecurity againſt their apprehenſions. Whatever inclination ſhe may diſcover to take an airing between Verſailles and Fontainebleau, they remain inflexible. How different the ſyſtem in former days, when Cayet, ſub-preceptor to Henry IV. tells a ſtory, "That Jane "d' Albret had reſolved to follow her huſband, to the campaign in "Picardy: on which the king her father ſaid he inſiſted that if ſhe "proved with child ſhe ſhould come and *lye in* at his court, and he "would nurſe the child, whether ſon or daughter. The princeſs, "finding herſelf in the ninth month of her pregnancy, ſet out from "Compiegne, travelled through France over the Pyrennees, and in "fifteen days arrived at Pau in the canton of Bearn. She expreſſed great

" great curioſity, adds this hiſtorian, to ſee her father's *will*, which " was kept in a great gold box, to which was faſtened a chain of " the ſame metal, ſo long that it would wind twenty or thirty " times round the neck. She begged the king to give it her; it ſhall " be thy own ſaid he when thou ſhall preſent me with a grand-child! " And, on condition thou doſt not make it a whimpering ſour-faced " chit, but wilt ſing a Bearnois ſong in the time of thy labour, I will " ſtay in the room. Between twelve and one in the morning, De- " cember 13, 1515, the princeſs was taken ill. Her father on receiv- " ing information of it, ran to her chamber. The moment ſhe heard " his ſtep, ſhe began to ſing the Bearnois ſong that begins,

" Our lady of the Bridge-Foot,
" Aſſiſt me now or never!"

" Being delivered, her father put the gold chain round her neck, " and gave her the gold box with the will, ſaying this is my preſent " daughter, but here is yours! Taking the child, and wrapping it in " his nightgown without waiting for the nurſery accoutrements, he " hurried it away to his own apartment. The little prince was nurſed " and educated in a manner that might inure him to labour and fa- " tigue; frequently making a meal of a cruſt of brown bread. The " good king, his grandfather, preſcribed this method; not ſuffering " him to be treated with effeminate indulgences, but taught from his " early youth to endure hardſhips. Often was he ſeen, in compliance " with the cuſtom of the peaſants, barefooted and bareheaded, both in " ſummer and winter; running amongſt the children of the caſtle and " village of Coirazze. Who could this prince be? Henry IV."

GRENIER St. LAZARUS STREET.

PASQUIER tells us that in the year 1424, a girl named Margot came to Paris and lived in this ſtreet: who played at tennis with both ſides of the hand better than any man. This was ſo much more ſurprizing, as at that time, they played only with the bare hand, or ſometimes a thick glove. By degrees they thought of ſlinging the ball to encreaſe the impelling force; but the laſt improvement was the racket. This game, ſays he, was called paume, or palm; from the original manner of playing, by receiving and returning the ball with the palm of the hand.

GUENEGAUD STREET.

I have already obſerved that Buci gate was ſituated towards the upper end of St. Andrew des Arcs * ſtreet; and that the walls of the city, interſecting

* Oppoſite to Contre-Scarpe ſtreet.

interſecting the ſpot which was afterwards Dauphiné * gate, terminated at that of de Neſle, where the outer court of the college of the four nations now is. The hotel and gardens de Neſle included the ſpace where the offices of the college are built, the houſes and little ſquare de Conti, the Hotel de Conti, Guénégaud ſtreet from that of L'Egout, to the river, beſides the little ſtreet de Nevers.

* The other end of Contreſcarpe ſtreet.

Philip the Fair purchaſed it of Amauri de Neſle in 1308. The kings his ſucceſſors beſtowed and alienated it ſeveral times, as part of the royal property: and in 1511, Charles IX. ſold this hotel to Louis Gonzague duke of Nevers, who partly rebuilt it. Henry de Guénégaud, ſecretary of ſtate, who bought it about the year 1650, made great alterations in it, and built the ſtreet that bears his name out of part of the gardens. It is now the Hotel de Conti.

Dames galantes, T. 1. p 271.

Brantome mentions a queen, "who lived in the Hotel de Neſle, and laid ſnares for paſſengers. Thoſe who pleaſed her taſte the moſt, no matter what rank of life they were in, ſhe made her companions; and when ſhe grew weary of them, commanded them to be hurled from the top of † a tower into the river. I cannot anſwer for the truth of this ſtory (continues he) but the major part of the city of Paris affirm it, and always relate it when they ſhew the tower."

† Where the ſquare of the four nations is.

Villon the poet, in his ballad on the ladies ſays,

Where is the queen,
By whoſe fell command Buridan
In a ſack was thrown into the Seine?

Jane, in her own right, dutcheſs of Burgundy and Artois, and by marriage queen of France and Navarre, was a princeſs very odious in her manners. After the death of her huſband (Philip the Tall) ſhe retired to the Hotel de Neſle, and died in 1329. At her own requeſt ſhe was buried amongſt the Cordeliers. John Buridan was a native of Bethune, in Artois; he was diſtinguiſhed in the Univerſity of Paris, from the year 1327, and if he was thrown into the Seine, eſcaped without drowning, as he was living in 1348.

Memoires de Nevers, T. 1 p. 57.

It was to the Hotel de Neſle, that Henrietta of Cleves, wife to Louis Gonzague, duke of Nevers, conveyed the head of her lover ‡ Coconas, which was expoſed on a gibbet in the Place de Greve. She went herſelf and took it down in the night; embalmed, and preſerved it a long time in the drawer of a cabinet behind her bed. This very cabinet was watered with the tears of her grand-daughter, (g) Maria Louiſa

‡ Beheaded in 1574.

(g) She was the wife of Ladiſlaus, and after his death of Caſimir his brother, king of Poland.

Louiſa Gonzague of Cleves, whoſe lover * experienced the ſame deſtiny as Coconas.

* Cinqmars, beheaded in 1642.

Felibien and Lobineau, in their hiſtory of Paris, have apparently followed the plans they found in commiſſary de la Marre's treatiſe of the Police; but theſe plans are very defective. They place the Hotel de Neſle without the city, when it certainly ſtood within: one ſide of the wall of this hotel forming part of that of Paris. The duke of Berry, uncle to Charles VI. built (it is true) a ſmall houſe called de Neſle lodge beyond the foſſes that ſurrounded the city; and which had a communication with the grand hotel by a drawbridge.

The gardens of this lodge, on one ſide, extended towards Buci gate, on the other to the banks of the river; that is to ſay where Malaquet quay now is: ſo that we are not to confound the two houſes together, though the college of the four nations is ſituated on part of the ground belonging to each. I ſhould not be ſo poſitive had I not taken pains to examine the ancient plans of Paris in the royal library, and in that of St. Victor.

In removing the earth near the tower de Neſle 1538, eleven caverns were diſcovered, and in one of them was the body of a man dreſt in armour. Could theſe ſepulchres be the work of the Pagans? Certainly there never was a church, or burying ground on this ſpot ſince the time of Chriſtianity! *(Will. Marcel, T. 1. p. 71. to 78.)*

GIBBET,

IS a corruption of the word Gebel, which in the Arabic tongue ſignifies a mountain. Executions in France were anciently exhibited on elevated places; in order that ſuch examples of juſtice might be ſeen at a great diſtance. Tacitus ſays, "Amongſt the Germans, traitors and deſerters were hanged upon trees; but cowards, vagabonds, and minions, were ſtifled in mud, under hurdles." The ſpirit of the law in this diſtinction of puniſhment, was to expoſe the guilt of public criminals to public inſpection; and to bury that of infamy in eternal oblivion. De Moriſ. Germ. c. 12.

Stephen Paſquier makes this obſervation, "that the gallows of Montfaucon has always been fatal to the projectors and improvers of it. Enguerraud de Mariguy was the firſt that invented it, and the firſt that ſuffered. And Peter Remi, ſuperintendant of the finances under Charles the Fair, who ordered it to be repaired, was likewiſe hanged there." Even within our own memory, he adds, "John Mounier, lieutenant of the Police at Paris, who had ſigned the ſame orders, L. 7. c. 40.

though

though he did not end his days like the other two, was condemned to an ignominious puniſhment at the foot of theſe gallows." Paſquier's is a good remark for this reaſon; it ſhews us there has been a time in France, when great plunderers as well as little ones, came under the cognizance of the law!

OF THE WATCH.

UNDER the kings of the firſt royal family, the watch appears in rather a diſreputable light. An ordonnance of Clotaire II. 595, ſets forth, "That if a robbery is committed in the night, thoſe "who are upon guard in that quarter ſhall be anſwerable if they do not "endeavour to ſeize the robber. That if, in making his eſcape from "the firſt, he is ſeen in another quarter, and that the watch of the ſe-"cond quarter, being immediately advertized of it, neglect to ſtop "him, the loſs ſuſtained ſhall fall upon them, and they ſhall, more-"over, be condemned to pay a fine of five ſols.—And ſo on through-"out the city."

Traité de la Police, T. 1. p. 256.

HARPE STREET.

AT the end of a very dirty houſe, the ſign of the iron-croſs, you enter an exceeding ſpacious vaulted hall, about forty feet high, the remains of the ancient palace of *Thermes*, a valuable monument of the Roman manner of building: the cement they made uſe of has long been a ſecret to the moderns; a circumſtance not much to the reputation of our architects. The edifices and courts of this palace occupied all the ground between Harp ſtreet and St. James's, as well as from du Foin ſtreet to de Sorbonne ſquare. The park and gardens ſpread, one way, to * mount Leucotitius, and another to the † temple of Iſis.

* Hill St. Genevieve.

† St. Germain des pres. Formerly St. Vincent.

Some of the learned think this palace was a work of the emperor *Julian*, about the year 358, others eſteem it of ſtill more ancient date. However, it is allowed by all to have been the conſtant reſidence of the kings of the firſt race. "*Childibert*, ſays Fortunat, could walk from the gardens of his palace almoſt to St. Vincent's church."

The princeſſes *Giſla* and *Rotrude*, daughters of *Charlemagne*, were, after his death, confined in the palace of *Thermes*. That great monarch had been a little too blind to their conduct; probably from the ſame tender motive which prevented his diſpoſal of them in marriage, want of reſolution to part with them. When *Louis the Debonair* came to the throne he attempted to reform their way of life, and as a prelude

Daniel's Hiſtoire de France, T. 1. p. 358.

put

put two noblemen to death, who were their reputed favourites. He undoubtedly thought by such an example to intimidate others from aspiring to so dangerous an honour, but the consequence shewed he was mistaken, whilst the princesses had their choice of lovers. These ladies united a great deal of wit with a taste for learning: they were generous, affable, and beneficent. In a word, like most women of gallantry, they were intrinsically good natured; and uninfluenced by ambition, interest, or cuning. Their deaths were universally lamented, whilst Louis, who delighted only in the company of priests, banished all the pleasures from his court, reigned like a monk, and had no taste for any thing but Full Chorus's, and church ceremonies. After rendering himself (says the same Daniel) despicable to the bishops and abbots by his too great familiarity and condescension, died contemned and degraded in the opinion of his subjects, with the character of "a very pious, but very indifferent monarch."

Hiſtoire de France, T. 1. p. 645.

Ibid.

SAINT HONORE'S STREET.

DURING the reign of Philip the Fair, the churches of St. Honoré, St. Thomas of the Louvre, and Quinze Vingts were still surrounded with meadows and vineyards: and by an article in an old register it appears that there was a good harvest of wheat, oats, and wine, gathered from these fields in 1310. The walls began by Charles V. in 1367, finished by Charles VI. 1383, and which lasted till 1663, enclosed these churches within the city.

In reading the history of the civil wars in the times of Henry III. and IV. it ought to be observed that the palace of the Thuilleries stood without the walls. "Henry III. (says L'Etoile) seeing the fury 1588. "of the populace unabated, and also receiving information that "the preachers who led them on repeating incessantly, *The necessary work of seizing brother Henry of Valois in his Louvre!* and had "likewise armed near eight hundred scholars and four hundred monks "for that purpose, determined to quit the palace. He was con-"firmed in this resolution by one of his domesticks who, about five "in the afternoon, entered the Louvre in disguise and acquainted the "nobles about his person, that it was necessary the king should make "his escape immediately; if not he was lost. According to his usual "custom he took a cane in his hand, and appeared as if he was only "taking a walk to the Thuilleries. His majesty was scarcely out of "the gate, when a citizen advised him to make haste, or the (*b*) duke "of Guise would pursue him at the head of twelve hundred men. He

(*b*) The duke of Guise went the same evening to visit the first president, Achilles de Harlay, who broke out into this exclamation: "It is scandalous, sir, it is infamously scandalous for the servant

" was no ſooner arrived at the ſtables of the Thuilleries, than he " mounted his horſe, followed by as many of his train as could ſupply " themſelves with horſes. Duhalde drew on his boots, and buckled " the ſpurs on the wrong ſide; it is of no conſequence, (ſaid the king, " obſerving the miſtake) I am not going to ſee my miſtreſs. Then " turning his horſe towards the city, he ſwore never to enter it again " but by ſtorm."

" Between five and ſix in the evening, ſays another writer, (Cayet) " Henry III. went out of the city by the *New gate*, accompanied by " his attendants; who were not much ſurprized at this ſudden flight, " becauſe one of the counſellors of ſtate had brought ſome haſty intelli- Chronologe, Novenaire. " gence to the Louvre, and without ſtaying to take off his robes, or " put on his boots, mounted the firſt horſe he met with in the ſtable, " and followed the king. His majeſty was juſt out of the *New gate*, " when a party of forty men who were placed for that purpoſe at *de* " *Neſle gate*, made a haſty fire on him and his attendants."

By theſe relations of cotemporary writers, it is evident that the *New gate* was placed on the banks of the river, a little on this ſide the laſt * poſtern, as you go from the *Pont Neuf* to the *Thuilleries*. From this *New gate*, the walls ran along what is called St. † Nicaiſe ſtreet, up to St. Honoré's gate, which is now the butchery of *Quinze Vingts*. This gate of St. Honoré was not taken down and removed to the entrance of the great baſtion, where it ſtill remains, till 1633.

* There was no gallery from the Thuilleries, nor poſtern gate at that time.

† Built about 1636.

" The gallery of the Thuilleries, ſays Sauval, was projected ‡ by " Henry IV. to run the whole length of the river to the palace of the T. 2. p. 46. " Thuilleries, which was then in the Fauxbourg St. Honoré. By this " communication with the Louvre, he could be either within, or with- " out the city as he pleaſed; and avoid the hazard of being impriſoned " within thoſe walls, where the life and honour of Henry III. be- " came almoſt dependant on the frenzy and caprice of an enraged " multitude."

‡ This gallery was incomplete till the reign of Louis XIII.

In 1616, M. de Berulle purchaſed the hotel du Bouchage, to make a monaſtery for the prieſts of oratory. The *Cul de ſac* of the oratory was then called Louvre ſtreet; at the end of which ran St. Honoré's. It was directly oppoſite to the hotel du Bouchage that Paul Stuard de Cauſſade, count St. Megrin, was attacked by near thirty aſſaſſins, in his way from the Louvre, at eleven at night. They ſtabbed him in

ſervant to turn the maſter out of his houſe! For my own part, my ſoul belongs to God, my heart to the king, and as to my body, I abandon it (ſince it muſt be ſo) to the wicked men who ruin this kingdom!

in thirty three places, and he died of his wounds the next day, July 21, 1578. Henry III. had him buried at St. Paul's with the ſame pomp and ceremony as his two favourites, Quelus and Maugiron. According to l' Etoile, "no enquiry was made who were the perpetrators of this "murther: his majeſty having certain information that it was the "work of the duke of Guiſe's jealouſy: a report prevailing that St. "Megrin was the diſtinguiſhed favourite of his wife. (*i*) The king was "likewiſe told that the perſon who gave the firſt ſtab ſtrongly reſem-"bled the duke of Mayenne."

What times and what manners were theſe! I believe whoever will recollect, and conſider with attention the horrible repreſentation of the fifty years *civil wars*, will agree that the lives of the citizens had been leſs endangered under the reign of a Nero, than under that of monarchs whoſe feeble exerciſe of authority created ſo many petty tyrants.

The HOTEL DE VILLE.

DURING King John's impriſonment the provoſt of the tradeſmen and ſcriveners made an offering at the church of *Notre Dame* of a wax candle, probably rolled up, equal in length to the circumference of the city of Paris. This annual gift was ſuſpended in the time of the league for near 30 years.

Miron, the provoſt in 1605, inſtead of this enormous length of candle, preſented a ſilver lamp with a wax taper, to burn day and night before the altar of the *Virgin*. This piece of devotion is as reſpectable, as another we have is abſurd. What can be more ridiculous than to make an annual proceſſion round two or three hundred lighted faggots, perhaps in one of the hotteſt days in ſummer? After curious reſearches into the origin of this ceremony I have diſcovered that the Greeks and Romans made publick rejoicings on the proclamation of peace, or the news of a ſignal victory; and that theſe rejoicings were always attended with ſacrifices, where great fires were neceſſary to conſume the victims. Hiſt. de Paris, T. 2.

Now we have been ſo ingenious to perpetuate the bonfires, though we have no victims to burn! Another cuſtom has, with equal pretenſions to reaſon, become univerſal ſince the invention of gunpowder. An hundred brazen mouths are deemed a majeſtick information to the world of the birth of a prince; but would not a concert of muſical

(*i*) Catherine of Cleves, the widow of the prince of Porrieu, married Henry de Guiſe, killed at Blois, 1588.

inſtruments convey more pleaſing ideas of the bleſſings of his future reign?

St. JAMES's STREET.

THE ſubterraneous chapel in the church of the Carmelites, formerly our Lady of the Fields, carries marks of great antiquity; and was part of a temple dedicated to Mercury. If ſome writers are to be credited, the figure on the top of the cupola of that church, is a ſtatue of the ſame deity. Moreau de Mautour, after frequent examinations of this figure with a reflecting teleſcope, expreſſes himſelf thus to the academy of inſcriptions.

" The ſtatue is of ſtone; the face repreſents a young ſmooth-chinned man, with very ſhort hair; the drapery long and flowing; the back part of the head bald. It is ſupported by a large iron branch faſtened to the neck, where it forms five rays: the left hand holds a balance; in each of the ſcales may be diſtinguiſhed ſome little heads of children; and the ſcale on the right hand preponderates. The Roman letters, M. DC. V. are likewiſe diſcernible round the top of the cupola; and ſeem intended to mark the æra of the building as well as the name of the ſtatue; and upon the whole makes the conjecture probable, that the latter repreſents St. Michael weighing ſouls in a balance." *(Hiſt. de l' Acad. des Inſc. T. 3. p, 300.)*

If this ſtatue had been deſigned for St. Michael it would have had wings; the devil under his feet; and the drapery no lower than the knee, as that arch-angel is always repreſented. I therefore cannot help thinking this figure a real Mercury Theutates, dug out of ſome part of the ruins of his temple, which being miſtaken for a ſaint, was placed upon the cupola, at the rebuilding of the church 1605.

DIIS INFERIS
VENERI
MARTI ET
MERCURIO
SACRUM.

An inſcription found in the foreſt of Beleſme, proves that the Gauls numbered Mercury amongſt the infernal deities. As the Metempſychoſis

Deſcrip. de Paris, T. 5. p. 343.

(*k*) Whenever Piganiol ceaſes to copy Sauval he is very unlucky in his reaſoning, as well as in his quotations. " Certain iron ſpikes, ſays he, which were placed round the head of this ſtatue " to prevent the birds from perching upon, and defiling it, have been miſtaken by Moreau de " Mautour for ears of corn, the ſymbol of Ceres." How extremely different is this from de Mautour's conjecture.

chosis was a point of their faith, it may naturally be imagined that this God was sometimes represented examining the weight and measure of souls, to see if they had lost or gained in value by animating those bodies he had sent them to inhabit. Cæsar de Bello Gallico L. 6.

"The Gauls, says Cæsar, consider Mercury as the inventor of arts; "the protector of travellers; and the patron of merchandize. They "have a higher veneration for him than for any other God; and abound "in statues of him.—A general opinion prevails among them, that they "are descended from Pluto; founded on a tradition preserved and in- "culcated by the druids. As a memorial of their origin, they com- "pute time by nights (*l*) instead of days; and in the commencement "of the year, month, or the anniversary of their birth, night always "has the pre-eminence." Ibid. num. 15, and 16.

It is well known that the heathens had frequently various occupations for the same divinity. Apollo was adored as the sun, and at the same time as the God of physick and poetry. Thus though Cæsar in the passage cited, seems to distinguish Mercury from Pluto, it does not prove they were not different names of the same divinity among the Gauls! What determines my opinion in this point is, that * Livy mentions a place, probably consecrated, called the *Mount of Mercury Theutates:* here they are united as one name; or rather *Theutates*, which in the Celtic language signifies (*m*) *Father of the People*, was only an epithet bestowed on Mercury by the Gauls and Celtiberians, who regarded him as the chief of their race. He was the very Pluto, the *Dis Pater*, that Cæsar speaks of, from whom they boasted their descent. *Galli se omnes à Dite patre prognatos prædicant.* * L. 20. c. 44.

The Gauls were long unacquainted with the thought of endeavouring to form resemblances (*n*) of the deities they worshipped. Statues were introduced amongst them by a more familiar intercourse with the Greeks and Romans. At the Apotheosis of a hero in the early ages of the world, some wood, or lake; some river, rock, or precipice, was honoured with his name; and these rural, savage spots were the sole

(*l*) Their computation in France was by nights, down to the twelfth century.

(*m*) *Theut*, people, and *Tad* father, from whence comes the word *Tata*, used by children.

(*n*) The Germans (says Tacitus) thought it a degradation of the majesty of the Gods to shut them up in a temple, or represent them under a mortal form. They called their consecrated woods by the names of their deities: they adored these solitary places, as thinking them filled with the divine presence.——Cæterum nec cohibere parietibus Deos, neque in ullam humani oris speciem assimilare, ex magnitudine cælestium arbitrantur. Lucos ac nempora consecrant deorumque nominibus appellant secretum illud, quod solâ reverentiâ vident.

De Morib. Germ. cap. 9.

ſole objects of the people's adoration. They not only were the temples and altars of their deities, but were thoſe very deities themſelves. It was in the moſt gloomy receſſes of the foreſt; at the foot of the moſt venerable moſs-grown oaks; that they choſe to celebrate their ſolemn religious ceremonies, with thoſe horrible ſacrifices of human victims mentioned by Lucan.

Liv. 3.

Barbara ritu
Sacra Dêum: ſtructæ ſacris feralibus aræ:
Omnis humanis luſtrata cruoribus arbor.

They attributed to the Rhine a very peculiar degree of diſcernment, which (happily for us) has never been attributed to the Seine. Whenever they ſuſpected the fidelity of their wives, the new-born infant was thrown into the river: in an inſtant its waves ſwallowed up the unlawful progeny, whilſt they gently wafted the genuine offspring upon the ſhore.

Juliani, Imper. Epiſt. 16.

By the foregoing circumſtances, it appears that the Gauls had no temples till there were conquered by the Romans. That their temples were not within the city, but in its neighbourhood; it being matter of certainty that there was not any temple in *Lutetia*. The abbey of St. Germain des Pres was founded on the ruins of that of Iſis: another dedicated to Cybelé was, on the St. Euſtachius ſide, very near one end of the Coquilliere: Montmarte took its name from the temple of Mars: and the Carmelites monaſtery ſtands where the Temple of *Mercury Theutates*, or *Pluto*, formerly ſtood: that is to ſay, on the ſide of mount *Leucotitius*, now the Fauxbourg St. James.

On the other hand I am not ignorant that anciently there was, in moſt cimetaries, a chapel dedicated to St. Michael: that he was invoked as the patron of the dead, and the defender of tombs: that in the veſtibule of the church of Notre Dame, there is a repreſentation of St. Michael weighing of ſouls, whilſt the devil conceals himſelf ſlily under the balance, and now and then filches one away. So that ſome perſons are of opinion the ſtatue on the Carmelites church muſt have been deſigned for the arch-angel. My objection to this opinion is, that when the light of Chriſtianity had diſſipated the dark ſhades of idolatry, the populace aſcribed the ſame functions to ſome of the ſaints, that the Pagans beſtowed on their falſe deities: ſo that, as I have already obſerved, ſome workmen meeting by chance in a field, with a Mercury Theutates, concluded it muſt be a St. Michael; and the prepoſſeſſion and the

ſtatue

ſtatue became a model for future ſtatuaries to delineate that archangel. I may add that, in the times of Paganiſm, the dead were never depoſited in cities; and that burial fields were generally conſecrated to Mercury: this God having the epithet of *Redux* to expreſs his power of ſending back ſouls from the banks of Lethe to earthly receptacles: and, laſtly, the number of tombs diſcovered in the encloſures of the Carmelites, and the adjacent meadows, undoubtedly prove them to have been cimetaries of the Pariſians.

The CHURCH *of the* HOLY INNOCENTS.

UNDER the article of monumental inſcriptions in this church, Corrozet tranſcribes an epitaph remaining in his days, but not now to be found: probably the copper plate on which it was engraved tempted ſome poor wretch to ſteal it away.

Here lies JOLLANDE BAILLY, who died in the year 1514, in the 88th year of his age, and the 42d of his widowhood. Who had ſeen, or might have ſeen, before his death 485 deſcendants. Antiquité de Paris, imprimées 1561.

The ISLE *of* NOTRE DAME, *or* ST. LOUIS.

SOME writers are of opinion that the reign of Charles V. gave birth to a dog, whoſe fame is deſervedly tranſmitted to poſterityby a monument ſtill preſerved in the chimney piece of the grand hall in the caſtle of Montargis. D'Audiguier imagines him to have been a greyhound, which I doubt very much, as the ſcent ſeems to be the ſtimulator of what we call ſentiment in the canine ſpecies, and the greyhound has no noſe: conſequently though they may careſs their maſter, and attend him when he riſes, or goes to reſt, it is merely the effect of habit (as in ſome courtiers) without the leaſt degree of attachment or affection! I therefore believe them incapable of ſuch indications of goodneſs of heart as I am going to recite.

Aubri de Mondidier, travelling alone through the foreſt of Bondi, was murthered and buried under a tree. His dog would not quit his maſter's grave of ſeveral days, till at length, compelled by hunger, he went to the houſe of an intimate friend of the unfortunate Aubri's, at Paris: and by his melancholy howling ſeemed deſirous of expreſſing the loſs they had both ſuſtained. He repeated his cries, ran to the door, then looked back to ſee if any one followed him, returned to his maſter's friend, pulled him by the ſleeve, and with dumb eloquence entreated him to go with him. The ſingularity of all the actions of the

the dog; his coming there without his maſter, whoſe faithful companion he always had been; the ſudden diſappearance of his maſter, and perhaps that divine diſpenſation of juſtice and events which will not permit the guilty to remain long undetected, made the company reſolve to follow the dog; who conducted them to the fatal tree, where he renewed his howl, ſcratching the earth with his feet to ſignify that that was the ſpot they ſhould ſearch: accordingly on digging, the body of the unhappy Aubri was found.

Some time after, the dog accidentally met the aſſaſſin, who is ſtyled, by all hiſtorians that relate this fact, *the Chevalier Macaire*; when inſtantly ſeizing him by the throat, it was with great difficulty he was made to quit his prey. Whenever he ſaw him after, he purſued and attacked him with equal fury. Such obſtinate virulence in the dog, confined only to Macaire, appeared extraordinary to thoſe perſons who recollected the dog's fondneſs for his maſter; and at the ſame time, ſeveral inſtances wherein *Macaire* had diſplayed his envy and hatred to *Aubri de Mondidier*. Additional circumſtances encreaſed ſuſpicion, which at length reached the royal ear. The king ſent for the dog. He appeared extremely gentle, till perceiving Macaire in the midſt of twenty noblemen, he run directly towards him, growled and flew at him as uſual. In thoſe times, when no poſitive proof of a crime could be procured, an order was iſſued for a combat between the accuſer, and accuſed. Theſe were denominated *The judgment of God*, from a perſuaſion that Heaven would ſooner work a miracle than ſuffer innocence to periſh with infamy. The king ſtruck with ſuch a collection of circumſtantial evidence againſt *Macaire*, determined to refer the deciſion to the *chance of war*; or, in other words, he gave orders for a *combat* between the chevalier and the dog. The *Liſts* were appointed in the iſle of Notre Dame, then an unencloſed uninhabited place. Macaire's weapon was a great cudgel; the dog had an empty caſk allowed for his retreat to recover breath. The combatants being ready, the dog no ſooner found himſelf at liberty than he ran round his adverſary, avoiding his blows, menacing him on every ſide till his ſtrength was exhauſted; then ſpringing forward, he griped him by the throat, threw him upon the ground, and forced him to confeſs his crime before the king and the whole court.

I do not imagine my readers will be greatly aſtoniſhed to hear of a dog's lying by his maſter's body ſeveral days, or teſtifying rage at the ſight of his murderer; but the generality of them will ſcarcely believe that ever a duel could have been juridically ordered between a man

man and a dog! Yet, in my opinion, whoever has been the leaſt converſant in hiſtory, or the manners of mankind, will find as little cauſe for amazement at inſtances of abſurdity in the human mind, as at thoſe of gratitude in the brute creation.

A queſtion was debated, about the year 968, whether the repreſentatives in a right line of deſcent, had a claim to the inheritance of their anceſtors? The civilians differed in opinion: on which the emperor Otho I. appointed two bravoes to fight in his preſence, in order to ſettle this point of right. He who defended the cauſe of the repreſentatives had the advantage; a decree paſt in their favour; and for the time to come grand children ſucceeded to a ſhare of the wealth of their anceſtors, together with their uncles and aunts, in the ſame proportion their parents would have done had they ſurvived. Sigebert.

(Tiraq. de jure primig qu. 40).

A biſhop of Paris was once engaged in a diſpute with an abbot of St. Denis, about the patronage of a monaſtery. Pepin the Short, finding his inability to determine a claim that appeared ſo complicated, had recourſe to the *judgment of God by the croſs*. The biſhop and abbot each choſe his man; they extended their arms in the form of a croſs, in the royal chapel. The ſpectators, devoutly attentive, ſometimes inclined to one ſide, ſometimes to the other. The biſhop's man proved firſt weary, and letting his arms drop, occaſioned the loſs of (*o*) the ſuit. Hiſt. of Paris.

The teſtimony, *or judgment of God by cold water*, conſiſted in throwing the accuſed, tied neck and heels, into a vaſt tub of water; if he ſunk, they believed him innocent; if he ſwam, it was regarded as a demonſtration that the water, which they had taken the precaution to bleſs, rejected him from its boſom; being too pure to receive a guilty perſon.

Whoever was ſentenced to the teſtimony *or judgment of God by fire*, was forced to carry in his hands a red hot bar of iron, of about three pounds weight, ten or twelve paces. Another method was to thruſt his hand into an iron glove hot from the furnace; or to plunge it into a vaſe of boiling water to take out a holy ring, ſuſpended at different degrees of depth. The priſoner's hand was then wrapped in linen; ſealed by the judge; and at the end of three days the ſeals were taken off, and if no mark of burning appeared, he was cleared and acquitted of the charge.

(*o*) Amongſt various methods made uſe of by the inhabitants of Siam to diſcover the truth in civil or criminal affairs, one is to call in the aſſiſtance of certain purgative pills; which they oblige both parties to ſwallow. He in whom their operation is the ſloweſt, gains the cauſe. Hiſt. des Voyages.

The irons and other inſtruments made uſe of for judicial proofs, were ſanctified and preſerved in particular churches *that enjoyed this privilege*. The profits drawn from this method of tryal was a reaſon for encouraging the popular credulity. One would think that in thoſe times they had loſt all remembrance of the precept, *Thou ſhalt not tempt the Lord thy God.*

I am ſorry *the author of L' Eſprit des Loix* is perſuaded that our anceſtors had hands like the paws of crocodiles. "Who wants diſcernment to perceive (ſays Monteſquieu on the ſubject of Proofs) that
T. 2. p. 311. "amongſt a people, exerciſed in military toil, the hard and callous ſkin "muſt be incapable of retaining any impreſſion from hot iron, or boiling water, longer than three days? and where it was retained, it certainly was a token that he who underwent the tryal was an effeminate man." It may be anſwered that effeminacy is no proof againſt a man's honeſty. "Our peaſants (he goes on) even now, from the "calouſneſs of their hands, do what they will with hot iron." Where has he ſeen them ſo familiar with hot iron, it may be aſked, and in what province do the peaſants plunge their fingers and wriſts into ſcalding water without being cicatrized?

The tryal by fire was practiſed in general by the heathens. In *the Antigone* of Sophocles, ſome of the guards offer to vindicate their innocence by holding a red hot iron, or by paſſing through fire. Strabo
Brumoy T. 3. p. 403. mentions prieſteſſes of Diana who walked upon hot coals without be-
Sttab, L. 12. ing burnt. St. Epiphanius ſpeaks of ſome Egyptian prieſts who by rubbing their faces with certain drugs, would jump into boiling cauldrons without the leaſt ſenſation of pain. Madame de Sevigné, in one of her letters, ſays, ſhe had juſt ſeen a man in her apartment, who
T. 5. ſuffered melted wax to be dropped upon his tongue without injuring it in the leaſt by the experiment: We have likewiſe ſeen in the provinces, a jugler, whoſe name was *Gaſpard Toulon*, rub his hands with melted lead.

But to return to the ſtory of *Aubri de Mondedier's* dog. In my opinion a point of right decided by a couple of bravoes; proceſs loſt becauſe a man is weary, and lets his arms drop; *perſons accuſed*, declared innocent becauſe, from being tied very tight, they ſink to the bottom of the water, and others pronounced guilty, becauſe they cannot graſp a fiery iron bar unſcarred; theſe facts, I ſay, in my opinion, ought to render my readers leſs incredulous concerning the duel in queſtion; eſpecially as it has been recorded by the hand of a painter in the caſtle of Montargis, as I have already mentioned. Beſides it has the confirmation

tion of many very judicious critical writers: amongſt others of *Julius Sealiger*, and *Father Montfauçon*, neither of them relators of fabulous facts. As to thoſe writers who place the date in the reign of Charles V. 1371, I think them miſtaken. *Oliver de la Marche*, who wrote about the year 1460, relates the ſtory in his "Treatiſe on Duelling," and ſays he copies it from *ancient chronicles:* an expreſſion never uſed in ſpeaking of a thing that happened only a century ago. I apprehend this dog to have been cotemporary with Philip Auguſtus, or Louis VIII.

Exerc. 202. num. 6.

DE LA JUIVERIE, *or* JEW STREET.

TO be the abomination of the populace; the ſport of avaricious princes who baniſhed them to ſeize their poſſeſſions, and permitted their return through the mediation of immenſe ſums of money; ſuch was the lot of the Jews in France, during the reigns of the three lines of her monarchs, till the year 1394, when they were abſolutely and irrevocably baniſhed by Charles VI. Whatever offers that nation has ſince made, even in the moſt preſſing exigencies of the ſtate, it has never been able to obtain an act of toleration.

The richeſt Jews lived, formerly, in the ſtreets Pelleterie, Juiverie, Judas, and Teixeranderie. Artificers, and inferior brokers, and pedlars, lived in the little ſtreets and alleys adjacent. Their ſchools were in St. Bon, and Tacherie ſtreets. Their ſynagogue, at different periods, was in thoſe of Pet au Diable, and Juiverie: the latter was converted, in the year 1183, into a church, by the biſhop of Paris, with the approbation of Philip Auguſtus, after he had driven the Jews out of the kingdom.

Chart. Ep. Paris, Bibl. Reg. f. 22.

The church has retained the name then given, of the parochial church of Magdalen. Two pieces of waſte ground were appropriated to them for burial ground, which ſince became Galande, and Peter Sarrazin ſtreets. The Jews were not permitted to appear abroad without a yellow badge upon their breaſt. Philip the Bold even inſiſted on their wearing a horn upon their head. They were prohibited bathing in the Seine, and if any of their tribe were condemned to the gallows, they were hanged between two dogs. Under Philip the Fair they received the appellation *Societas Caponum*, and the houſe where they held their general aſſembly was called *Domus Societatis Caponum*; from whence the word *Capon*, or *Cheat*, certainly owes its derivation.

Regiſt. du Parl. 1312.

The WHARF *of* ST. ANDREW.

THE body of Iſabella of Bavaria, wife to Charles VI. was conveyed to St. Denis's abbey in a very extraordinary manner: at this wharf it was put into a little boat, with an order to the boat-man to deliver it into the hands of the prior of St. Denis.

LION STREET, *near* ST. PAULS.

THIS ſtreet took its name from the menagerie, where the king's lions were kept. One day whilſt Francis the I. amuſed himſelf with an engagement between his lions, a lady of the court happened to drop her glove into the den; and ſaid to *De Lorges*, who was ſtanding by, if your paſſion is really as violent as your repeated oaths would perſuade me, go and bring me my glove. De Lorges ruſhed into the midſt of theſe furious animals, brought the glove, and throwing it at her, took his leave from that moment, nor could all the enticing advances ſhe made ever recall her lover.

Brantome Dames Galantes.

MARMOUSET STREET.

Traité de la Police, T. 1. p. 560.

"THOSE perſons (ſays commiſſary de la Marre) old enough "for obſervation at the commencement of his majeſty's reign, re- "member the ſtreets of Paris ſo covered with mud that neceſſity in- "troduced the cuſtom of walking in boots: and how greatly the air was "infected by this impurity, the Sieur Courtois, a phyſician who lived "in Marmouſet ſtreet, made a ſmall experiment of, which may ena- "ble us to judge of the reſt. The Andirons in his hall, which was "next the ſtreet were headed with large copper balls: and he ac- "quainted the magiſtrates, as well as his friends, ſeveral times, "that he every morning found them covered with a thick coat "of verdigreaſe, which was conſtantly taken off, in order to repeat "the experiment the following day. But ever ſince the year 1663, "that the cleaning of the ſtreets has been inſpected by the *Police*, thoſe "ſtains on the balls have never appeared. He draws this conſequence "from his obſervation, that, as the lungs and other vital parts are of "an infinitely more delicate texture than copper, the corruption of the "air we breathe muſt make a more malignant impreſſion on them, "and become the immediate cauſe of a variety of diſtempers.

DU MALTHOIS STREET, *near the Arcade of the* GREVE.

THE young king Philip whom his grandfather Louis had aſſociated with him on the throne, and whoſe coronation had been juſt performed

performed at Rheims, paſſing through this ſtreet from St. Gervais, got ſo violent a fall from his horſe that he died the next day, October 3, 1131. This unfortunate accident was occaſioned by a pig's entanglement in the horſe's heels. An order enſued forbidding all perſons to drive pigs looſe in the ſtreets. The *Religious* of St. Anthony's abbey at length obtained a grant of exemption for their pigs from the general reſtriction, on remonſtrating how palpable an affront it was to the patron of their order.

ST. MARTIN'S STREET.

THE *Champclos*, or Liſts, was a piece of ground ſtrewed with ſand and encloſed with a double barrier; with ſcaffolds for the king, and the court; the judges of the field; the ladies; and the populace. Theſe ſort of theatres, deſtined to be ſprinkled with the blood of the nobles, were generally erected at the *challenger*'s expence; though ſometimes the *challenged* was lofty enough to inſiſt upon dividing the charge. "There is great probability (ſays Sauval) that the *champclos* "or liſts of St. Martin in the fields, and of the abbey of St. Germain "in the meads, were always ready for combatants; and the ſcaffolds "left ſtanding till they wanted reparation." The monks of theſe two monaſteries were undoubtedly ſo charitable to lett them out to duelliſts; and theſe latter were under an obligation to the monks for furniſhing them with places to cut each others throats, at much leſs expence than if they had built them on purpoſe! T. 2. p. 581 and 668.

I ſhall relate a paſſage from Brantome, as an introduction to ſome reflections on judiciary combats, or duels; which ſeem to ariſe ſo naturally from the ſubject, that the reader will be ſurprized they ſhould eſcape the attention of ſo many writers on this ſubject.

"When my deceaſed uncle Chataigneraye fought a duel with Jarnac, "(ſays Brantome) in the numerous and brilliant aſſembly on that occaſion, a vaſt many foreign ambaſſadors were preſent, particularly "one from the Grand Signior Solyman. This miniſter expreſſed the "utmoſt aſtoniſhment that one *French* gentleman ſhould engage another *French* gentleman; eſpecially, as they were both favourites of "the king, he wondered his majeſty ſhould give them leave to ſlaughter each other! The motive of action with the Mahometans is very "different: their point of honour lies in ſerving their prince with "zeal and affection; and in fighting his battles with alacrity.——The "ancient Greeks ſaid, theſe kind of combats appertained to barbarous nations alone. And the Romans were of the ſame opinion with the Memoires ſur les duels, p. 194.

" the Greeks, and Turks. They always expreſſed their diſapproba-
" tion of this cuſtom, in the ſtrongeſt terms; nor have other Chriſtian
" nations extended their ideas of honour to ſuch fantaſtick lengths as
" the French."

The Greeks and Romans (like the Mahometans at preſent) wore long garments; never appeared in the military dreſs, or with weapons of defence but in the field. This rendered it almoſt impoſſible that a diſpute between two citizens ſhould be attended with fatal conſequences.

Tacite de Moribus Germ.

The people of Germany formerly had no cities, but were inhabitants of the foreſt; their cloaths would neceſſarily be ſhort, and cloſe to their ſhape, to prevent any embarraſſment in hunting; whilſt the apprehenſion of meeting with beaſts of prey, obliged them to be always armed. Now the firſt motion of an armed man when he meets with an inſult is to put his hand to his ſword: this I take to be the origin of duelling, which other nations impute to the Northern people, and theſe ſuppoſe to be a cuſtom derived from other nations. Let us now examine how the *combat* came to be judicially authorized; and why the event was regarded *as a determination of the deity*.

When the Franks, under the conduct of Clovis, had completed their eſtabliſhment in Gaul, they began to feel the neceſſity of written laws to regulate the adminiſtration of juſtice, and conſtitute a fixed form of government. Any one who reads Tacitus will obſerve, that the *Salique* laws were digeſted from the German cuſtoms and manners,

Ibid.

with ſuch alterations and modifications as the ſtate of a nation demanded that was likely to acquire permanency; and where each particular began to enjoy a lawful property in that diviſion allotted to him out of the conquered lands. The unhappy cuſtom of doing themſelves juſtice by force of arms, transfuſed in a manner with their blood from age to age through all the people of Germany, was, in their opinion, as ancient and honourable as their origin. It would, therefore, have been an im-

Ibid.

practicable undertaking to perſuade a nation of conquerors to renounce a cuſtom which they regarded, not only as a mark of their independance, but as the privilege of every free-born man. If Numa met with no difficulty in its aboliſhment among the Romans, it ought to be conſidered that this ſo much boaſted legiſlator, who commanded an extent of country not more than two leagues in circumference, the aſylum of ſlaves, fugitives, and robbers, had occaſion for no other qualities than ſuch as would make a tolerable *Lieutenant of Police*. It was an eaſy matter to gain the aſſent of a troop of banditti to all kinds of reſtric-

tions

tions on each others actions. Men whom the hope of impunity had rendered fellow-citizens, who mutually feared and deſpiſed one another, whilſt each individual, judging of his neighbour's breaſt by his own, was eager to encourage the reſtraint of laws. Our anceſtors were a very different race; natural equity, candour, and ſincerity, formed the baſis of their character; unacquainted with cowardice, they would have been aſhamed to have taken any precautions againſt ſtrength and courage. Undebaſed by crimes, they felt, a little too proudly, they were *men*! *The Sages* whom they ſelected to compile their inſtitutions, were, therefore, obliged to conform to the prejudices of that ſavage honour which governed their conduct, and only endeavour to diminiſh the fatal effects, by ſubjecting it to certain judicial formalities. They ordained that whoever believed himſelf injured by another in his honour, or property, ſhould cite him to appear before a judge; and, after explaining his grievance, be at liberty to declare aloud "that he, "henceforth, ſhould regard that man as his enemy, and would purſue and attack him in all places."

When the proofs againſt the accuſed appeared inconteſtable the judge terminated the affair by condemning him to a fine. It is neceſſary to remark that amongſt the French as well as Germans, even homicide was expiated by gold; and that under the two firſt races of kings, and for near fourſcore centuries of the third, a nobleman could not be condemned to death for any crimes but treaſon to his ſovereign or his country. Ibid. c. 21.

In caſes where the proofs were inſufficient, oaths were admitted. "If two neighbours (ſays Dagobert in his ſtatutes) have a conteſt about "the boundary of their lands, let a piece of turf be cut from the con-"teſted ſpot, and let the judge carry it into the * *Malle* that both "parties may touch it with the point of their ſwords, and call Hea-"ven to witneſs the juſtice of their claim; let them afterwards fight, "and let victory decide whoſe right is the beſt."

* The Aſſize houſe.

The apparatus of the oath was augmented in capital crimes, to give it a more tremendous appearance. For this purpoſe the parties were ſworn upon the relicks of thoſe ſaints for whom they profeſſed the greateſt veneration. To wave the compariſon between the confuſion which is almoſt inſeparable from a wretch whom guilt has perjured, and the reſolution that conſcious innocence inſpires, it was natural for them to conſider the event of a combat, authorized by the laws, and conſecrated by religious ceremonies, as an expreſs declaration from the deity of the truth or falſhood of an accuſation. The vanquiſhed, whether alive

alive or dead, was drawn naked on a hurdle to the place of execution, and there hanged. Le Gris was accuſed by the wife of Carrouge of having violated her chaſtity; though conquered and overthrown by his antagoniſt, he always aſſerted his innocence. "But this (ſays le La-"boureur) was not thought convincing in oppoſition to the iſſue of the "combat. He was drawn on a ſledge to the gallows, according to "the cuſtom in ſimilar caſes, where he paid the forfeiture of his ho-
Liv. 6. c. 10. "nour and blood for the guilt of a vile wretch, who was afterwards "executed for other crimes and confeſſed himſelf the perpetrator of "this." What a ſurpriſing conſideration that the law ſhould ſentence a nobleman to an ignominious death becauſe he was conquered in a duel, when the ſame nobleman had he been accuſed, attainted, and convicted of this very miſdemeanour in a court of judicature upon indiſputable poſitive evidence, would have been releaſed on the payment of a certain fine! After mature reflection on a proceeding that appears ſo contradictory, I imagined I could trace its ſource in the *cuſtoms of the Germans*. A German could only be puniſhed with death, when the voice of Heaven ſeemed to pronounce his ſentence.

De moribus Germ. c. 7. "Among theſe people (ſays Tacitus) chaſtiſing the guilty is leſs "conſidered as a puniſhment that the authority of the magiſtrate has a "right to inflict, than as an inſpiration and expreſs decree from God; "who, they think, preſides over the fate of duels, and aſſiſts the in-"nocent combatant." *Velut Deo imperante, quem adeſſe bellantibus credunt.*

A diviſion of the forfeited eſtates of the vanquiſhed appertained to the high court of juſtice; ſo that the biſhops, abbots, priors, and ſuch chapters as inherited fiefs and lordſhips, were not averſe to granting of permiſſions to decide civil, and criminal cauſes by the ſword.

Ann. 858. Pope Nicholas I. regarded duelling, as *a conteſt authorized by the laws*. Peter le Chantre who wrote about the year 1180, ſays "duel-"ling was approved of, and commanded by ſome of the (*p*) churches. "The court of the biſhop or arch-deacon is prepared for the liſts of "the combatants, as is done at Paris. And when pope Eugenius "the IIId. was conſulted regarding its lawfulneſs, he anſwered, the "ancient cuſtom of our forefathers ought to be complied with."

Louis VI. granted a charter to the *Serfs*, or vaſſals of the church of Paris, giving them a right to bear witneſs againſt any perſon of whatſoever

Cod. MS. Abb. S. Vict. Paris. (*p*) Quædam eccleſiæ habent monomachias, & judicant monomachiam deberi fieri inter ruſticos ſuos; & faciunt eos pugnare in curiâ eccleſiæ, in atrio epiſcopi vel archidiaconi, ſicut ſit Pariſius. De quo conſultus Papa Eugenius, reſpondit *Ultimini conſuetudine veſtrâ.*

ſoever rank. And that whoever accuſed them of perjury ſhould be bound to prove their accuſation by combat, or loſe their cauſe, and make reſtitution for the inſult offered to the church under penalty of excommunication. During the reign of Louis the Young the monks of St. Génévieve offered to prove by *duel* that the inhabitants of a little village near Paris, were their vaſſals. And, in the ſame reign, the *Religious* of St. Germain des Pres, having demanded the combat to demonſtrate that Stephen de Maci had wrongfully impriſoned one of their *ſerfs*, the two combatants fought a long while with equal advantage, till at length *by the aſſiſtance of God* (ſays the hiſtorian) *the champion of the abbey had viſibly gained upon his adverſary, by putting out his eye, which forced him to acknowledge himſelf vanquiſhed.* The plebeians and *ſerfs* fought with cudgels, and were allowed a buckler to parry their enemies ſtrokes. In the audience room of all the lords, whether eccleſiaſticks or laity, was to be ſeen the repreſentation of two champions completely armed, and eager for the combat. Theſe paintings are now ſucceeded by the crucifix. Rageau mentions having ſeen two ſuch figures in the audience room belonging to the chapter of St. Merri. " I am much miſtaken (ſays Sauval) if I have not " ſeen ſuch figures in both the chambers of requeſts belonging to the " palace, before they were ornamented with painting and gilding as " they are at preſent. And I think, continues he, that behind the " crucifix, in one of thoſe apartments, there is yet remaining the great- " eſt part, if not the entire figure, of one of theſe champions."

Hiſtoire & Preuves, ann. 1154.

T. 2. p. 580.

The REGULATIONS *of* PHILIP *the* FAIR *concerning* DUELS, *ran thus*; Ann. 1306.

The liſts are to be forty paces in breadth and twenty four in length.

Licenſes for duels ſhall not be granted except in caſes where the circumſtances againſt the accuſed are only ſuſpicious without amounting to poſitive proof.

On the day appointed the combatants are to ſet out on horſeback, from their reſpective habitations, with their vizors up, having their offenſive and defenſive weapons borne before them; they are to ride gently, repeating the ſign of the croſs at frequent intervals; or bearing in their hands the image of that ſaint in whom they place the ſtrongeſt confidence, and reverence the moſt.

At their arrival in the * *Champclos* (*q*) the accuſer, laying his hand upon the crucifix, is to ſwear by his baptiſmal vow, his life, his ſoul, his honour, that he believes he has lawful and juſt cauſe to demand ſatisfaction of his adverſary; and that he does not bear about himſelf, his horſe, or his armour, any herb, charm, ſtone, ſpell, compact, or incantation, relying on their efficacy. The ſame oath is to be adminiſtered to the accuſed.

* Encloſure, or camp.

The body of the vanquiſhed, if ſlain, ſhall be delivered over to the marſhal till the king's pleaſure be known, whether he will remit the ignominy, or deliver him over to juſtice; that is, *command him to be nailed to a gibbet, with his head downwards.*

The vanquiſhed (if living) ſhall have his ſpurs hacked in pieces; be diſarmed and ſtripped; his harneſs ſhall be broke and ſcattered over the field; himſelf lie ſtretched upon the earth till the king, likewiſe, declares his pleaſure, either to pardon, or reſign him to the law. Moreover, all his goods ſhall be forfeited to the crown, after the conqueror's expences are re-imburſed, and reſtitution made for the injury received.

The duel between (*r*) Châtaigneraye and Jarnac, in the court of the caſtle of St. Germain *en laye*, July 10, 1547, was the laſt licenſed by authority

(*q*) In Germany, they placed a coffin in the *Champclos*; the challenger, and the challenged, ſat one at the head, the other at the foot, for ſome minutes in contemplation, before the combat began.

Addit. aux Memoires de Caſtelnan, T. 2. p. 554.

(*r*) The challenge of FRANCIS DE VIVONNE CHATAIGNERAYE.

"Sire,"

"Having been informed that Guy Chabot, when he was laſt at Compeigne, declared that whoever affirmed he had boaſted of an intrigue with his mother-in-law was a vile ſlanderer; I therefore, Sire, with your good will and pleaſure, anſwer, that he hath wickedly lied, and will lie at all times and ſeaſons, if he declares that I have repeated words he never made uſe of; for he hath told me ſeveral times, boaſtingly, that he had an intrigue with his mother-in-law."

"FRANCIS DE VIVONNE."

The challenge of GUY CHABOT DE JARNAC.

"Sire,"

"With your good pleaſure and permiſſion, I affirm, that Francis de Vivonne has lied in the imputation he has beſtowed on me for the words I ſpoke to you at Compeigne.—For this reaſon, Sire, I very humbly beſeech you that your majeſty will be pleaſed to grant us *the combat* in its utmoſt extent."

"GUY CHABOT."

The OATH of FRANCIS DE VIVONNE.

"I Francis de Vivonne do ſwear by the holy evangeliſts of God; by the true croſs; and by the faith of that baptiſm I received through Chriſt; that with good and juſt cauſe I enter the field to fight Guy Chabot; whoſe cauſe for defence is bad and unjuſt. And that, moreover, I do not carry about my perſon or arms any ſpell, charm, or incantation, through power of which I expect to diſcomfit my enemy, or expect to overcome him."

The

authority. Henry II. was ſo greatly concerned for the death of his favourite Châtaigneraye that he ſolemnly ſwore to aboliſh theſe kind of duels.

They made it appear to Henry IV. by a liſt of more than ſeven thouſand pardons iſſued from the chancery, there had been near eight thouſand gentlemen, at leaſt, ſlain in duels within ſeventeen or eighteen years. Whereas when combats were authorized they rarely happened, for many reaſons. A man that had fought his enemy in private would have diſhonoured himſelf and been regarded as an aſſaſſin. A man's honour was ſatisfied in becoming the plaintiff and demanding *the combat*; whilſt the judge, informed of the circumſtances of the quarrel, would endeavour to accommodate the matter. There was alſo great probability that the perſon committing the offence, might be intimidated by the oath previouſly to be taken: add likewiſe, the alarming alternative conqueſt or death! and that death ſullied with diſhonour! Beſides, the nobility not being arrived at that height of venality as at preſent, a gentleman valued his own life, and even that of his enemy, enough to believe they were reciprocally reſponſible to their country for their uſe; and conſequently had no right to ſeek occaſions, lightly, to throw them away.

Louis XIV's edicts againſt duelling are extremely ſevere; but the fatal prejudice of a point of honour is never to be deſtroyed but by ſhame and ridicule.

I would therefore wiſh to have four places ſet apart, in different quarters of the city of Paris, where every Sunday the publick ſhould be entertained with the diverſion of a duel! The prize, a ſum of money, and a medal for the fortunate champion who ſhould ſlay his opponent. Thoſe who aſpired to the glory of theſe combats, might repair on the preceding evening to the houſe of a commiſſary, and enter their name and quality: afterwards they ſhould draw lots, and when each of the candidates was certain which gladiator he was to engage, the company might ſpend the evening together like well bred men, who purpoſed cutting one anothers throats the next day without the leaſt degree of animoſity, but only to ſhew their courage. I would, at the ſame time, have the edict aboliſhed which makes it death for gentlemen to decide their differences by the ſword. They ſhould only be

The like OATH was taken by CHABOT.

On the morning of the combat, Châtaigneraye, like a true braggadocio, invited above a hundred and fifty perſons to ſup with him. All the ſumptuous preparations for this repaſt which was to have been held in a tent at the end of the liſts, were conſumed, and devoured by the populace. *Mem. de Vielhville, T. 1. p.* 319.

obliged to wear one of the prize medals. The idea of being confounded in appearance with indigent wretches who expoſe their lives for pay, and of not being regarded as more inherently brave, would inſenſibly inſpire the leaſt pacific diſpoſitions not only with a repugnance to give, or receive provocation for a challenge, but even with a ſenſe of the ſhame and infamy of ſuch a faſhion, particularly when they added this reflection, that a trial of ſkill in a duel is far from being a certain indication of true valour. I am thoroughly convinced that if this mode of plunging a ſword in one anothers breaſt for the moſt trifling offences, had been as prevalent with the Romans as it is with us, the combats of the gladiators would have put a ſtop to it. M. * Duclos fancies that "this delicacy of honour, though ſometimes chimerical, may "be inſtrumental in awakening a certain ſenſibility of ſoul more gene-"rous, and more powerful than mere duty." I either do not clearly comprehend what kind of influence this generous ſenſibility can have on a ſoul impenetrable to the attraction of duty; or if I do comprehend the expreſſion, it ſignifies that the ſoul of a Frenchman has not the leaſt analogy to the ſoul of an ancient Greek, or Roman! to that of a Turk, or Perſian! and that a Frenchman, who did not keep up a conſtant ſenſe of this punctilious idea of tilting, to ſhew his reſentment for the ſmalleſt perſonal injury, would be in danger of behaving very ignominiouſly in a battle where the duty of a citizen was the ſole ſpring of action! If this explanation is a juſt comment on the thought of Duclos, it certainly is a falſe one, and inconſiderate.

* Memoires de L' Acad. des inſcrip. T. 15. p. 630.

The author of *Elements of Education*, printed in 1640, is of opinion that the faſhion of wearing muſtachoes may contribute to a man's courage.

"It gives me a favourable opinion (ſays he) of a young gentlemam, "when I obſerve him curious and nice in his muſtachoes. The time "he employs in adjuſting and ſetting them in order, is not alto-"gether loſt; the more he contemplates their beauty, the more his "mind muſt entertain and cultivate manly and courageous ſenti-"ments."

In reality, an amorous attachment and pride in the muſtachoe, was a paſſion laſt extinguiſhed in the heroes of that age. The French Mercure for 1627, p. 452, relates "that when the executioner cut off "the count de † Bouteville's hair, the count put his hand upon his "muſtachoes, which were large and fine, which the biſhop of Nantes "obſerving, ſaid to him, my ſon you ought to think no more of the

† Beheaded for a duel.

"things

" things of this world; alas! I find you have not yet forgot your " muſtachoes."

PARCHEMINIRIE *(or Parchment-Makers)* STREET.

BEFORE the invention of printing in Europe, the Benedictine, Bernardine, and Carthuſian monks employed their time in making manuſcript copies of the ancients; we are indebted to them for the preſervation of an infinite number of books.

The Carthuſians hearing that the count de Nevers intended them a preſent of ſome ſilver vaſes, obſerved, that they ſhould eſteem the favour ſtill greater if he would convert them into ſkins of parchment.

NEW ST. MERRY STREET.

IN the year 1358, Perrin Macé, an apprentice to a broker, aſſaſſinated John Baillet, treaſurer of the finances, in this ſtreet. The Daupin, afterwards Charles the V. was then regent of France, during his father's impriſonment. He commanded Robert de Clermont, marſhal of Normandy, to diſlodge the criminal from his ſanctuary in the church of St. James de la Boucherie, and to have him hanged immediately, which was accordingly put in execution. But the biſhop of Paris, John de Meulant, cried out againſt the impiety of the deed, affirming it to be a violation of the eccleſiaſtical immunities. As ſome reparation, he had the body of the murderer taken from the gallows and beſtowed on it an honourable interment, perſonally aſſiſting at the ceremony in this very church of St. James: great honour to a man after being hanged! Some days after, Robert de Clermont being maſſacred in a ſedition for defending the rights of his ſovereign, the biſhop forbid him to be buried in holy ground; ſaying he had incurred the ſentence of excommunication in forcing Perrin Macé from his ſanctuary; and perſons under eccleſiaſtical interdiction ought not to be depoſited amongſt the faithful.

Choiſi, Hiſt. du Roi John.

Malingre.

Daniel.

This prelate does not ſeem to have been nurtured in the ſpirit of underſtanding the bible, or he muſt have diſcerned that " *The Places of Refuge*," deſigned by Moſes, and eſtabliſhed by Joſhua, were only for ſuch perſons, as by mifortune had committed an involuntary murder, not for aſſaſſins!

Exodus, c. 27. v. 14.

" And the Lord ſaid, If any one hath ſlain his neighbour with pre-" meditated deſign, ye ſhall draw him from before my altar, to the " end that he may die." Louis XII. had too much regard for the welfare of his people, and was too enlightened in matters of religion not to aboliſh

abolish absolutely and entirely the privilege of asylums, claimed and enjoyed till then by many churches and convents in Paris; particularly those of St. James de la Boucherie, St. Merry, Notre Dame, l' Hotel-Dieu, the abbey of St. Anthony, the Carmelites of Maubert square, and the great Augustines. One example will enable us to judge of the abuse of these asylums. In the year 1365, William Charpentiere murdered his wife. The crime was committed in publick; evidently proved, by his own confession; the bailiffs seized him in the Hotel-Dieu where he had taken refuge, and carried him away to prison; he presented his petition; the parliament sentenced the bailiffs to pay a fine; and ordered Charpentiere to be re-instated in his sanctuary, which was accordingly done. I cannot say whether he married again, or what became of him, but this is certain, he was not put to death.

Reglem. du parlement.

THREE PAVILION STREET.

DIANA of Poitiers, wife of Louis de Brezé, great seneschal of Normandy, whom Henry II. created dutchess of Valentinois, lived in the Hotel Barbette. Her daughters, the dutchesses d' Aumale, and de Bouillon sold it, as part of their father's inheritance, in 1561, to different persons, who took it down, and built upon the foundation, Diana, Park-Royal, and new Barbette streets. Why the name of Diana street is changed into Three Pavilion does not appear.

"The virginity of the young Diana (says a compiler of anecdotes) "was a delicate sacrifice, very worthy to be presented as an offering to "the greatest monarchs: could our good king Francis possibly reject "it? The fact is well known that Francis I. granted Diana of Poitiers her father's forfeit life, who was under condemnation for being concerned in the constable of Bourbon's machinations: but this author is mistaken when he talks of her virginity, for she had been then married eight years, having espoused Louis de Brezé May 29, 1514.

F. Anselme's Hist. Généalogique, T. 2. p. 207.

According to Brantome, this lady was born in 1496. Father Anselme makes it 99, and Ducheſne, 1500, so that she must have been forty, at least, when Henry II. at the age of eighteen, fell so passionately in love with her; and though near sixty at that prince's death, she had always preserved an invariable empire over his heart. He wore her livery, black and white, * at the tournament where he received his death wound.

* Widows always appeared in second mourning.

Diana

Diana of Poitiers had a beautiful, fair complection, with hair remarkably black and curling; her teeth, hand, and foot were admirably fine; she was of a tall ſtature and moſt noble air; was never ill in her life; in the extremeſt cold weather ſhe waſhed her face with cold ſpring water, and uſed no pomatums. She waked at ſix every morning; frequently mounted her horſe, and would ride five or ſix miles, and then return to bed, where ſhe read till noon. All perſons, the leaſt diſtinguiſhed in literature, might rely on her protection. The Calviniſts (who hated her) have placed Clement Marot in the liſt of her favoured lovers. Henry II. expreſſed his deſire to acknowledge (*f*) a daughter he had by Diana, but ſhe proudly replyed "My birth entitled me "to have borne legitimate children to your majeſty; Love has made me "your miſtreſs; but I will not ſuffer a publick act to pronounce me "your concubine."

Brantome, Vie de Hen. II. p. 37.

Memoires de Condé, T. 6. p. 11.

Thoſe courtiers who had paid her conſtant adoration for ſo many years (like true courtiers) abandoned her when they found that Henry II's laſt hour approached. And Catherine de Medicis ſent her an order to deliver up the crown jewels, and retire to one of her caſtles. "Is the king dead? (ſhe enquired of the perſon charged with the com-"miſſion) No madam, (anſwered he) but it is impoſſible for him to "live out the day! Well then (ſaid ſhe) I do not yet acknowledge any "other maſter: and I deſire my enemies may be informed I bid defi-"ance to their perſecutions. Should I be ſo unfortunate as to ſur-"vive him long, my heart will be too much occupied with grief to "be ſenſible of the vexations, and mortifications they are preparing "for me."

Diana of Poitiers died on the 26th of April 1566, at the age of ſixty ſix years, three months, and twenty ſeven days. By her will, ſhe ordered that her corpſe ſhould be placed in the church of *Filles Penitentes*, before it was carried to Anet, to be buried. "I ſaw her (ſays "Brantome) ſix months before her death, ſtill ſo handſome, that I "do not think the coldeſt heart could have beheld her without emo-"tion. She had ſome time before broke her leg on the pavement at "Orleans; an accident not occaſioned by want of ſkill and dexterity "in riding, which were as remarkable as ever, but to her horſe's fal-"ling down. One would have ſuppoſed this accident, added to the "misfortunes ſhe had experienced, muſt have faded the beauty of her "face! not in the leaſt! that aſſemblage of graces, and lovelineſs of "perſon were in her unimpaired and unalterable! What pity that the "tomb

Hilar. de Coſte, Dames illuſtres T. 1. p. 510.

Dames, Galantes, p. 370.

(*f*) This daughter, who was called Mlle. de la Montagne, was living in 1620.

" tomb ſhould encloſe ſo fair a form!—She was of a gentle, compaſſio-
" nate nature, and bountiful in the diſtribution of alms.—The people
Vie de Hen- " of France have reaſon to requeſt of Heaven that their kings may
ry II. p. 11. " never have a favourite with a worſe heart, or more malice."

I believe the dutcheſs of Valentinois is the only *miſtreſs* that ever had the honour of a *medal*. M. Peireſc (ſays L' Etoile) has ſent me a copper medal of Diana of Poitiers: on one ſide is her effigy with this inſcription, *Diana Dux Valentinorum clariſſima*; on the reverſe * *Omnium Victorem vici*, 29 March, 1608.

* I have conquered the univerſal conqueror.

The Abbe de Choiſi in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory (where it is rather ſingular to meet with details of that nature) pretends that " Diana,
" proud of her virtue, whether real, or affected, had a medal ſtruck,
" on which ſhe was repreſented trampling Cupid under her feet." This
Hiſtoire Ec- is conſiſtent enough with her pride of character, in objecting to Hen-
cles. T. 9. ann. 1559. ry's publick acknowledgment of her daughter, but does not agree with that article in her will, where ſhe deſires to be removed to the church *des Filles Penitentes*. M. de Trudaine has the ſilver medal in his collection, that I have deſcribed. It is very ſcarce; and he was ſo obliging as to ſhew it me. In my opinion the city of Lyons, where the dutcheſs was greatly beloved, paid her the compliment of caſting this medal; and the words, *Omnium victorem vici*, were deſigned for Henry II. who in 1552, had a medal ſtruck, where the dutcheſs appeared
Mezeray. in the character of the goddeſs Diana. Her boſom naked, a quiver on her ſhoulder, the right hand holding an arrow, her left leaning on a bow: the motto *Nomen ad aſtra*. The Henry-Diana (that is to ſay their cyphers interwoven in creſcents) ſtill remaining at the Louvre, are additional memorials of Henry's paſſion.

De la POTERIE STREET.

A company of ſtrolling players in the year 1600, obtained permiſſion to eſtabliſh themſelves at Paris; purſuantly, they opened a theatre at the Hotel d' Argent, in this ſtreet. The judge of the *Police* publiſhed an order in 1608, on account of ſome diſturbances that happened at this play-houſe door, and likewiſe at another at the Hotel de Burgundy. I ſhall tranſcribe the chief articles as they appear curious to me, by comparing the diverſity of times and manners.

" On a complaint lodged by the king's ſolicitor general againſt the
" players of the two theatres, that their plays are finiſhed at irregular
" and inconvenient hours in the winter ſeaſon, and that, unlicenſed,
" they

they exact exorbitant prices of the people, it becomes neceſſary to guard againſt ſuch diſorders, and to fix moderate prices for this diverſion. We therefore have, and for the future do, very expreſſly forbid the ſaid comedians from St. Martin's day to the fifteenth of February, ever to play longer than half an hour paſt four, at the lateſt. For this purpoſe, we hereby enjoin them to begin, whatever company may be in the houſe, at two o'clock in the afternoon, and conclude at half an hour after four, the doors to be opened at one o'clock, preciſely.

"The players are likewiſe prohibited from taking of the citizens and other perſons more than five ſols for a place in the pit, and ten for the boxes and galleries. And in caſe the exhibition of any particular theatrical entertainment may require extraordinary expence, it ſhall always be provided by the *Police*, at the requeſt of the actors.

"Paris (ſays the Preſident Hainault) was then a very different place from what it is in our days. There were no lamps, much dirt, very few coaches, and an abundance of robbers." We may add, that a player could maintain himſelf better with 20 ſols in thoſe days, than he can at preſent with five ſhillings.

The players of the hotel d' Argent hired a tennis-court, in old Temple ſtreet. They were called the company *du Marais*. It was on this theatre that the two actreſſes, Marotte Beaupré and Catherine des Urlis, appointed a rendezvous to fight ſword in hand; and in reality entertained the audience with a duel by way of epilogue. Sauval declares he was that night at the play. T. 2. p. 578.

PROUVAIRES (t) STREET.

ALPHONSO king of Portugal came to Paris in the year 1476, to ſolicit aſſiſtance againſt Ferdinand, ſon to the king of Arragon, who had diſpoſſeſſed him of Caſtille. Louis XI. (ſay the writers of that age) complimented him with the higheſt honours, and endeavoured to entertain him with every royal amuſement that could be invented. His lodging was at a grocer's houſe in Prouvaires ſtreet, whoſe name was Laurence Herbelot. The morning after his arrival he was carried to the hall of juſtice, where he had the pleaſure of hearing the pleadings, in a very puzzling cauſe. Next day he was entertained at the biſhop's palace with the uſual apparatus at the ordination of a doctor in divinity; and on the following Sunday, the 1ſt of December, and the Malingre Annals de Paris.

(t) Or Prieſts ſtreets, *Prouvaire* being an obſolete word ſignifying prieſt.

eve of his departure, a ſolemn proceſſion of the Univerſity paſt before his door. What an honourable habitation, and what elegant amuſements for a crowned head!

Chron. de Louis XI.

BUTE *and* ST. ROCH STREET.

IN deſcribing the ſituation of the walls of Paris, begun by Charles the V. in 1367, finiſhed by Charles VI. 1383, and ſtill ſtanding in 1631, I ſaid that they interſected the ſquare of Victory, and the royal gardens, ending at *St. Honoré's* gate, where the butchery in the *Quinze Vingts* market now is. It was on this ſide that Charles VII. made his attack on the city, September 8, 1429, which was then in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh. "The king croſſed the meadows towards St. "Honore's gate, and leading his troops to a hill, or riſing ground, "called * Hog market, gave directions for planting the batteries to "advantage.——Joan d' Arc, the maid of Orleans, declared her re- "ſolution to make an aſſualt; ill informed, no doubt, of the quantity "of water in the (*u*) foſſes, which on fathoming with her lance ſhe "found to be extremely deep. Yet, notwithſtanding ſhe was (*w*) "wounded by an arrow from a croſs-bow in one if not both her "thighs, ſhe perſiſted in her deſign; ordering faggots and trees to be "brought to the foſſe on the other ſide, hoping to find the water "ſhallower there. (*x*) Night coming on, meſſengers from the camp "made repeated repreſentations of the danger ſhe was in; but ſhe con- "tinued inflexible, till the duke of Alencon went himſelf to perſuade "and bring her back."

Hiſtoire de Charles VII. dite de la Pucelle.

* La Butte St. Roch.

There were windmills on la Butte St. Roch, ſo late as 1670. The new ſtreet, Petit champs, reached at one end to St. Anne's ſtreet, and to the Hotel de Vendôme at the other. This houſe was pulled down to make the ſquare de Vendôme in 1687. It then only conſiſted of ſcattered ruins, diſperſed about the ground, where new Petit Champs was built, and, afterwards, Gaillon, Antin and Louis le Grand ſtreet. There was a horſe market kept upon the ground which is now d' Antin ſtreet and hotel; and exactly on the ſpot where you enter d' Antin ſtreet from new Petit Champs (the back of Vendôme gardens then) was the duel fought between the dukes of Beaufort and Nemours, on the 30th of July, 1652, about ſeven in the evening. The

(*u*) That part of the foſſe where ſhe wanted to make an aſſault was, where the ſtreets Boucheries and Traverſaire are built.

(*w*) Very near the end of Traverſaire ſtreet, next Honoré's.

(*x*) That ſide of the wall, or rampart, was where the little ſtreet of Rampart runs, it croſſed from Richelieu ſtreet to St. Honoré's, oppoſite to St. Nicaiſe's.

The party was five to five. The ſeconds of the duke of Beaufort were M. de Buci, de Ris, Brillet, and d' Héricourt. Thoſe of the duke of Nemours, were the marquis Villars, (father to the marſhal) the chevaliers de la Chaiſe, Compan, and d' Uzerches. The duke of Nemours had charged their piſtols himſelf at his own houſe, and brought them with their ſwords. When they approached each other, "Ah "brother, how ſhameful is this quarrel! let us forget what is paſt, "and be good friends!" (ſaid the duke of Beaufort) "No villain! "(replied Nemours) I muſt either have thy life, or thou ſhalt take mine." He made the firſt fire, probably as having received the affront, and then would have fallen ſword in hand upon the duke of Beaufort, but he avoided the thruſt and lodged three balls in his breaſt. D' Héricourt was likewiſe killed by the marquis Villars, and de Ris by Uzerches; the reſt were not dangerouſly wounded. The arch-biſhop of (y) Paris forbid that maſs ſhould be ſaid for the duke of Nemours, in his pariſh church St. Andrew des Arcs, where the corpſe was carried. Would the reader know who this ſcrupulous biſhop was? Cardinal de Retz, who commonly wore a poniard in his pocket inſtead of a breviary!

Mem. de Montpenſier.

Memoires de Retz.

SALLE-AU-COMTE STREET.

HENRY DE MARLE, chancellor of France, had a houſe near the Fountain in this ſtreet, where he was murdered in 1418. A ſolicitor of the Chatelet purchaſed it in 1663, and complained (ſays Sauval) of being badly accommodated, and wanting elbow room.

In the parliamentary regiſter for the 9th of Auguſt 1413, it appears that Charles VI. in order to proceed in the uſual form of ſcrutiny on the election of a chancellor, ſummoned the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, Bavaria, and Bar, together with many barons, knights, and counſellors, to attend in the council-chamber, who were all ſworn upon the bible, and holy croſs, to nominate the perſon they believed moſt worthy of that important dignity. Henry de Marle, firſt preſident of the parliament of Paris, had forty four votes; Simon de Nantes, another preſident, twenty; and Arnaud de Corbie, eighteen; ſo that by a plurality of voices, the king being allowed one, (only) Henry de Marle (ſays the Abbé de Choiſi) was proclaimed chancellor.

(Hiſt. de Charles VI.*)*

(y) At the end of fifteen days, the requeſt of the prince of Condé ſoftened his inflexibility.

SEINE STREET.

QUEEN MARGARET of Valois, firſt wife of Henry IV. returning to Paris, after an abſence of near twenty five years, built a hotel at the end of this ſtreet, with ſpacious gardens that extended along the banks of the Seine; and died in it March 27, 1615. I honour chaſtity in a woman as much as any one, but becauſe ſhe may have admitted lovers, and been guilty of ſome weakneſs, I cannot think the world has a right to mangle her fame ſo unmercifully as it has done in the caſe of one, who, in other reſpects, had the beſt diſpoſitions to promote the glory and tranquility of the ſtate, and united to an excellent heart, and an elevated ſoul overflowing with compaſſion and generoſity, a remarkable portion of wit and beauty.

Hiſt. de la Mere & du Fils.

" True heireſs of the houſe of Valois, (ſays Mezeray) ſhe never be-
" ſtowed a donation on any perſon, without an apology for its not be-
" ing more conſiderable. She was the patroneſs of men of learning,
" who always were careſſed at her table; and ſhe improved ſo much
" by their converſation, that ſhe ſpoke and wrote more elegantly than
" any woman of her time.

Margaret paſt part of the day in bed, ſurrounded by ſeveral pretty children of the choir who amuſed her with their ſongs, " Being at
" Toulouſe (ſays preſident Laroche) ſhe received the devoirs of the par-
" liament, on a very rich white damaſk bed, behind which were
" placed little children of the choir who ſung, accompanied by the
" lute." She excelled all the ladies in Europe in dancing. Don John of Auſtria, governor of the Low Countries, rode poſt from Bruſſels to Paris *(incognito)* to ſee her dance at a publick ball.

Brantome.

Henry had no reaſon to complain of her want of complaiſance, as the following ſtory, from her own memoirs, of one of his miſtreſſes, ſufficiently proves.

Memoires de la Reine Margaret.

" This lady (ſays the queen) was in bed, in the apartment of the
" maids of honour, when, at break of day, ſhe found herſelf ſo in-
" diſpoſed, that ſhe ſent for my phyſician, and entreated him to in-
" form the king, my huſband, of her diſorder; which he accordingly
" did. We lay in ſeparate beds in the ſame chamber, as was our
" cuſtom. When the phyſician had told him her ſituation, the king
" was in great tribulation how to act, fearing on the one ſide the af-
" fair ſhould be diſcovered, and on the other (for he was exceſſively
" fond of her) that ſhe might want neceſſary aſſiſtance. At length
" he came to a reſolution to make an unreſerved confeſſion, and per-
" ſuade me to go to her in this diſtreſs; knowing perfectly well that,
" not-

" notwithſtanding what had paſt, he ſhould always find me ready to " accommodate myſelf to his pleaſure. Undrawing the curtains, " he ſaid, my dear, I have hitherto concealed a thing which I am now " obliged to confeſs to you. I beg you will excuſe this tranſgreſſion, " and not recollect all the promiſes I have made you on the ſubject; " but comply with my requeſt ſo far as to riſe, as expeditiouſly as you " can, to aſſiſt *Foſſeuſe*, who is very ill. You know how much I love " her, I beg of you to oblige me in this. I replied, that I honoured " him too much to be offended with any of his actions; that I would " be with Foſſeuſe immediately and be as careful of her as if ſhe was " my daughter; and I adviſed him to take all the court with him " upon a hunting party, to prevent a diſcovery. I roſe and had her " removed to a remote chamber, where my phyſician and proper wo- " men attended, and took all imaginable care of her under my inſpec- " tion. It pleaſed God ſhe had only a daughter, and that was dead! " The king, my huſband, on his return from hunting found me again " in bed, fatigued with riſing ſo early, and with the trouble I had " given my ſelf to aſſiſt his miſtreſs. He preſſed me to get up and " go and ſee her? I told him I had done ſo when ſhe wanted my aſ- " ſiſtance, but now it was no longer requiſite: that my viſits would " rather publiſh than conceal what had happened; and that all the " world would point at me. He was very angry, which vexed me " extremely, as I could not think my behaviour in the morning deſerv- " ed ſuch an unkind return." Another paſſage in Queen Margaret's Memoirs paints the horrours of St. Bartholomew's night in very lively colours.

" I was fallen faſt aſleep, when I was alarmed by a violent knock- " ing at my chamber door, and a man's voice calling, *Navarre! Na-* " *varre!* My nurſe, thinking it was the king my huſband, ran haſti- " ly and opened the door. A gentleman whoſe name was de Tejan, " ruſhed in, purſued by four archers, who followed him into my bed- " chamber. They had wounded him in the arm with their ſwords " and halberds, and to ſave his life he threw himſelf upon my bed. " Terrified with the ſight of theſe men, who endeavoured to hold me, " I jumped out of bed, and fell upon the floor with de Tejan round " my neck, who never quitted his graſp. We both ſhrieked aloud, " equally terrified at the impending danger. At length, thanks to " Heaven, * M. de Naucai, captain of the guards, came to my aſ- " ſiſtance, and finding me in ſo ſtrange a ſituation, however it might " excite his compaſſion, could not forbear laughing."

* Gaſpard de la Châtre.

What!

What! in the palace itſelf, in the apartment of the king's ſiſter, in her very bed! did they murder theſe unfortunate men, who challenged in vain the faith of ſolemn oaths and treaties? And Naucai, reputed one of the moſt virtuous men of the court, could laugh at ſuch a ſpectacle! he laughed in thoſe moments of horrour! in that for-ever execrable night! "Having changed my linen, continues the queen, which "was covered with blood, and thrown on a looſe gown, I went to "my ſiſter, Madame de Lorraine's apartment. I had ſcarcely entered "the antichamber, when a gentleman (one Bourſe) flying from "the archers, whoſe halberds had pierced him, fell dead at my feet. "In about a week after the *maſſacre*, the contrivers of it were ſenſible "they had failed in the principal part of their deſign, which was levelled leſs at the Huguenots than at the princes of the blood. They "impatiently endured the reflection that the king of Navarre and "the prince of Condé had both eſcaped their ſnare; and, convinced "they could find no one ſo abandoned as to attempt my huſband's "life, they plotted another helliſh deſign; which was, perſuading the "queen my mother to procure a divorce. One feſtival day in the time "of our Eaſter devotions, I attended at my mother's levée, when ſhe "obliged me to ſwear to ſpeak the truth; and then queſtioned me if "there was no lawful impediment to my marriage with the king; and "added, if there were, ſhe could contrive meaſures to ſet it aſide. I "begged her to believe that I did not underſtand the nature of her "queſtion; but ſince ſhe inſiſted upon knowing my ſentiments, I "would frankly declare, that as ſhe herſelf had diſpoſed of my hand, "I never would withdraw it! ſuſpecting, very reaſonably, they "wanted to entice me into a ſeparation, to wreak their malice on "the king."

Memoirés de Sully.

Henry IV. who had no children by the queen, ſeeing himſelf in quiet poſſeſſion of the crown, made a propoſal to her, that for the welfare of the ſtate, they would agree to a diſſolution of their marriage. She conſented in the moſt noble, modeſt, and diſintereſted manner; far from exacting ſeveral conditions, which this prince could not have refuſed, ſhe only requeſted the payment of her debts, and the ſettlement of a penſion correſpondent to her rank. "The diminution of "her greatneſs (ſays Mezeray) received ſo much ſplendour from her "goodneſs, and thoſe many royal virtues inherent in her, that ſhe al-"ways commanded reſpect." Four years after her deceaſe, her palace was ſold, in 1619, and they raiſed Malequais quay on part of the gardens. Till then the Fauxbourg St. Germain was nothing but irregular villages,

Hiſtoire de la Mere & du Fils.

villages, intermixed with vineyards, gardens, and meadows, among the houſes. Going out by the gate de Neſle, where the college of the four nations now ſtands, you were immediately in the open fields. Tarannes, and St. Dominick ſtreets were then called *Oxen Road*; and Petit Auguſtin, Jacob, Saint Pere, L' Univerſité du Baeg, Verneuil, Beaume, and Bourbon, were not then built.

* Then Clerks meadow.

I think we ſhall have pleaſure in reading a proof of the effect of theſe improvements in a comedy of the Great Corneille's, acted firſt in 1642.

DORANTE.

PARIS is like a place in old romance;
An iſle enchanted ſeemed this morn diſplayed:
I left it deſart —— and 'tis peopled now!
Without the maſons aid, ſome new Amphion,
Surely has chang'd the trees to lofty domes!

GERONTE.

PARIS affords ſuch ſights as theſe each day;
The *Scholars field* ſupports a thouſand piles;
Nor can the univerſe like wonders ſhew,
To thoſe proud walls the cardinal has raiſed!
A pompous city, now † complete, we ſee,
From an old *Foſſe* miraculouſly riſe.

(*The Liar a. 2. s. 5.*)

† Richilieu and Montmarte quarters.

Of the paſſage of the SEINE, *from* MALAQUAIS QUAY, *to the* COLLEGE *of the* FOUR NATIONS.

A ſhort time after the peace of Vervin, Henry IV. was returning from the chace, plainly dreſt, and attended by only two or three gentlemen. At Malaquais quay, they called a boat, at the very place they now croſs the river. Perceiving the boatman did not know him, the king enquired how people liked the peace? Faith, I cannot tell in what we are the better for this fine peace; (replied the boatman) every thing is taxed; ſo much as this poor little boat of mine, ſo that I can hardly earn a living by it! What, I ſuppoſe (ſays Henry) the king does not enquire into theſe things! His majeſty is a good ſort of man enough (anſwered the clown) but then he keeps a miſtreſs who will have ſo many fine gowns, and ſuch a power of trinkets! and the worſt on it is, we muſt pay for them all! not that it would ſignify ſo much

Sauval, T. 2. P. 534.

much if ſhe only belonged to him, but, they ſay, ſhe allows other people to go ſnacks.

Henry was ſo diverted with this converſation that he ſent an enquiry after the boatman the next day, and made him repeat to the dutcheſs of Beaufort all he had ſaid to the king. The dutcheſs was ſo enraged ſhe wanted to have him hanged. You are a ſimpleton, ſaid Henry; this is a poor devil that want has put out of humour, he ſhall enjoy his boat tax-free, for the future, and, I will anſwer for it, his note will be every day, *Long live Henry and Gabrielle.*

This excellent monarch could be lofty whenever he thought it proper. He one day aſked the ambaſſador of Rodolphus II. (ſay Mathieu) whether the emperor had any miſtreſſes? If my maſter has any intrigues, (replied the ambaſſador) he conceals them from the publick. True, ſaid Henry; there are ſome men who have not a ſufficient number of great qualities to venture a diſcovery of their foibles! The ſame writer affirms, that he has often heard the king declare, pleaſure was not his only attachment to the dutcheſs of Beaufort. "That "this lady was of ſingular ſervice to him in unravelling the intrigues "and diſſenſions of a court. To her he confided the informations he "received of thoſe about his perſon. Her addreſs ſoothed and harmonized his humour, and his vexations. Her conduct was ſuch "(adds the hiſtorian) that ſhe ſupported every one in diſtreſs, and "oppreſſed no one, ſo that the greater part of the people were pleaſed "to ſee her in that exalted rank."

ST. SEVERIN STREET.

Chronique de Louis XI. p. 213.

THE phyſicians and ſurgeons of Paris, ſent a repreſentation to "Louis XI. in January 1474, "that as ſeveral perſons of conſideration were afflicted with the ſtone, cholick, Iliac paſſion, and pleuriſy, it would be beneficial to mankind to examine into the ſeat of "thoſe diſorders; which could not be ſo effectually accompliſhed, as "by performing an operation on a living ſubject. Therefore, they "humbly requeſted his majeſty, to give orders for delivering into "their hands a French-archer, then under ſentence of death for a "robbery, who had been frequently attacked by theſe diſtempers." Their requeſt was granted, and this I apprehend to have been the firſt operation in lithotomy, performed in publick. It was done in the church-yard of St. Severin. "After the examination, the extraction "of the ſtone was completed, and by the king's command (ſays the "chronicle) his bowels were returned into his body, which was ſewed

"up

" up; and the wound ſo entirely healed, that in fifteen days he was " perfectly well; and received a pardon for his crime, with a ſum of " money, *to enable him to live honeſtly for the future.*"

The train of events in a man's life is ſometimes extremely remarkable: there was a neceſſity that this poor wretch, in order to be cured of the ſtone, ſhould be condemned to the gallows! But can it be credited, that in that age, had he been hanged, his carcaſs would have been regarded as a ſacred *depoſit* in the hands of death, which no ſurgeon might preſume to touch? The diſſection of a human body was accounted ſacrilege at the beginning of Francis the I's reign. And the emperor Charles V. ordered a conſultation to be held by the Theologians of Salamanca to determine whether it was conſcientiouſly allowable to diſſect a body with a view to ſtudy its ſtructure.

Over the Door of the ANATOMICAL AMPHITHEATRE, *at* TOULOUSE, *is this verſe;*

" Hic locus eſt ubi mors gaudet ſuccurere vitæ."

" In this place the dead find pleaſure in being of uſe to the living."

I dare not riſque a tranſlation of the inſcription over the anatomical amphitheatre at Paris;

Conſilioque Manûque:

The courſe lies betwixt two rocks; and I ſhould offend either the college of phyſick, or the academy of ſurgery.

TEMPLE STREET.

THE Templars received that appellation from King Baldwin the II. of Jeruſalem having granted them a habitation near the temple of Solomon. The duration of their *order* was not quite two hundred years: it commenced in 1118, and was aboliſhed in 1312. Villani, and the generality of hiſtorians aſſure us that a templar, who was prior of Montfaucon, near Toulouſe, and a Florentine named Noffodei were two infamous wretches condemned by the grand maſter to finiſh their days in priſon, as a puniſhment for the ſin of hereſy, added to the guilt of an abandoned courſe of life. Theſe profligate men became informers againſt the whole *order*, and concerted their plan in this manner. They found means to acquaint Enguerand de Marigni, ſuperintendant of the Finances, * that if the government would promiſe them their liberty, and a competent penſion for their lives, they would

 diſcover

* In the reign of Philip the Fair.

diſcover ſome ſecrets "*which the king might draw more utility from the knowledge of, than from the conqueſt of a kingdom.*" Upon the depoſitions of theſe perſons, all the templars reſiding in France were arreſted on the 13th of October 1307, a day ſet apart for that purpoſe.

William de Nogaret, ſo remarkable by his violence of temper, and friar Imbert, a dominican, and the king's confeſſor, then inveſted with the title of inquiſitor general, were entruſted with the conduct of this affair. Informations were lodged indiſcriminately; and in a ſhort time, nothing was talked of but chains, dungeons, executions, and *Auto de Fés*.

Nangii continuat.

Even the dead bodies of the templars did not eſcape their fury: they dug up their bones, burnt them, and ſcattered their aſhes to the winds. Life and penſions were beſtowed on ſuch who made a voluntary confeſſion of their guilt; the reſt were delivered to the torture. Many, who did not fear to die, were intimidated by the horrible apparatus they ſaw, and agreed to the confeſſions their enemies dictated. There were likewiſe many more whoſe conſtancy remained irreſiſtible to promiſes and puniſhments. Fifty four perſons were burnt behind St. Anthony's abbey, who, in the midſt of devouring flames, averred their innocence to the laſt groan.

The grand maſter of the *order*, James de Molai, who was god-father to one of the young princes; Guy, commander of the order in Acquitaine, brother to Mahaut, and to the duke d' Auvergne; Hugh de Peralde, grand prior of France; and one more, whoſe name is not recorded, were firſt carried before the pope at Poitiers, and then led back to Paris, to make a publick confeſſion of the univerſal depravity of the ſociety of the knights templars. Theſe were the chiefs of the *order*, and as *Philip the Fair* was not ignorant of the popular clamour, that the court wanted to get poſſeſſion of the immenſe wealth the templars had amaſſed from the Eaſt, which was the true cauſe of their zealous perſecution, he hoped by this ceremony to impoſe upon the multitude and calm their minds, alarmed at ſuch a ſeries of dreadful executions in the capital, as well as in the provinces. A ſcaffold was prepared before the church of Notre Dame, on which the knights were placed to hear the ſentence which mitigated their puniſhment to perpetual impriſonment. One of the legates afterwards made a long diſcourſe, wherein he gave a detail of all the abominations and impieties of which the templars had been convicted (as he ſaid) by their own avowal. And that none of the audience ſhould remain incredulous concerning

cerning theſe facts, he called upon the grand maſter to confirm them, by a repetition of the publick acknowledgment he made at Poitiers. "Yes, I will ſpeak, (ſaid this unfortunate old man, ſhaking his chains, "and advancing towards the edge of the ſcaffold,) I have indeed too "long been guilty of treaſon againſt truth. Vouchſafe to hearken, O "my God! vouchſafe to receive the oath I ſwear! and may it be my "teſt when I ſhall appear before thy tribunal! I ſwear that all their "allegations againſt the templars are falſe. *Our order* was ever "zealous for the faith of Chriſt; charitable, juſt, orthodox! And "if my imbecility led me to ſpeak differently at the king's and the "pope's ſolicitation; and in order to obtain a ſuſpenſion of thoſe in-"tolerable tortures they made me ſuffer, I now earneſtly repent it. I "perceive, added he, my tormentors are irritated, and the fire will "ſoon blaze; I ſubmit wich reſignation to every method of cruelty "they can invent; and acknowledge, O my God! there are none "ſufficient to expiate the offence I have committed againſt my bre-"thren, againſt truth, and againſt religion!"

The legate was extremely diſconcerted; he ordered the grand-maſter, and the duke of Auvergne's brother, who likewiſe recanted, back to priſon. They both were burnt alive the ſame evening in a ſlow fire, on the ſpot were Henry IV's ſtatue is placed. Their conſtancy continued firm; they invoked the name of Jeſus, beſeeching him to inſpire them with reſolution.

The populace in conſternation, melted into tears; proſtrating themſelves upon their aſhes, and gathering them up as precious relicks. The two knights who had not courage to be the martyrs of truth, were treated with lenity. According to Mezeray, the grand-maſter cited the pope to appear before the divine tribunal within forty days, and the king within a year. If this is a real fact, it was a prophecy fulfilled by the event. As to thoſe monſters who were the inſtruments of all this black proceeding, the one loſt his life in a ſcandalous affair; the other, Noffodei, was hanged for new infringments of the laws.

Hiſtoire de Paris, l. 11.

Hiſtoire de France.

Choiſi's Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt.

The execrable ceremonies imputed to the templars were, that on their admiſſion into the *order*, they were conducted into a private apartment, where they abjured the faith of Chriſt, and ſpit thrice upon the croſs. That the new candidate ſaluted the *principal*, who received him with ſingular indecency. That the object of their adoration was a gilded wooden head, with an enormous beard; which was brought forth only at general chapters. That chaſtity was inculcated in re-

Proceſſus contra templaries. Dupuy.

gard to women, but great complaiſance towards the brethren of the ſociety.

That if an amour between a templar and a maiden produced a male child, the fraternity aſſembled round it, forming a ring, and toſſed it from one to another till they killed it.

Robert Gaquin, l. 7. p. 12.

That three chiefs of the order in Languedoc, who were put to the torture, confeſſed their having aſſiſted at ſeveral provincial chapters; and that in one of theſe chapters held at Montpellier, in the night, as was cuſtomary, they expoſed *a head*; when inſtantly the devil made his appearance in the form of a cat; which cat, whilſt they paid him devout adoration, converſed with great kindneſs and familiarity with the company. Several demons alſo appeared in the form of women, ſo that *every Jack had his Jill.*

Hiſtoire Générale de Languedoc. année, 1307.

Father Peter of Boulogne, ſolicitor general to the *order*, repreſented in different memorials, the evident improbability there was, that a ſett of men, who could not be biaſſed by motives of intereſt, ſhould renounce the religion in which they were educated, to worſhip an idol! and that not one of the perſons initiated into theſe diabolical myſteries, ſhould hold them in deteſtation enough to reveal them, during the ſpace of near two hundred years! That the royal letters had offered life, liberty, and penſions to ſuch knights as would make a voluntary diſcovery of their guilt; and had threatened thoſe with the moſt exquiſite tortures who remained inflexible to menaces and promiſes. That there were inconteſtable proofs of many templars, who were taken ill in the priſons, having acknowledged on their death-beds, with all the marks of a lively and ſincere repentance, the falſhood of thoſe declarations, extorted from them by the intolerable violence of the tortures they groaned under. That the *accuſed* had never been confronted with their accuſers; and finally, that none of the templars arreſted in other countries where Chriſtianity was profeſſed, had ever depoſed any circumſtances the leaſt ſimilar to thoſe groſs impieties imputed to their *order* in France, in which kingdom their deſtruction had been decreed, and perpetrated by every method that force, and ſeduction could employ.

Deffenſio Templar. Dupuy.

The arch-biſhops of Sens, Rheims, and Rouen were ſo far from hearkening to thoſe remonſtrances, that they ſigned reſolutions in their provincial ſynods, to treat as renegadoes and abjurers of the doctrine of Jeſus Chriſt, all templars who ſhould retract the confeſſions they had made under the influence of the *torture*. In purſuance of this barbarous and ſingular innovation of the laws, fifty four perſons were burnt at the ſtake, near the ſpot where the hotel for the black muſquetiers is built.

Ex ſecundâ vitâ Clementis, v. p. 37.

The

The recital of the biſhop of Lodêve, a cotemporary writer, repreſents theſe unhappy men ſurrounded by devouring flames, lifting up their eyes to heaven, as if to draw from thence that ſtrength of mind which had failed them in the hour of *torture*; and ſupplicating the divine Being not to permit them a ſecond time to betray the truth, by accuſing their guiltleſs brethren and themſelves, of crimes they never committed. Chron. de Montfort. Ducheſne, T. 5.

In the general council held at Vienne in Dauphiné, compoſed of more than three hundred arch-biſhops, biſhops, and doctors in divinity, Germans, Italians, Engliſh, French, and Spaniſh; who all, except one Italian prieſt, together with the three arch-biſhops of Sens, Rheims, and Rouen, ſigned a remonſtrance, ſetting forth, that a ſuppreſſion of the order of templars upon the depoſitions of witneſſes not confronted with the perſons accuſed, or ſuffering the latter to plead in their own defence as they had repeatedly petitioned, muſt be conſidered as an open violation of natural equity. The pope, aſtoniſhed at this univerſal oppoſition to his deſigns, exclaimed "That if through any defi- "ciency in accuſtomed formalities the council could not * juridically "pronounce ſentence againſt them, the plenitude of his pontifical "power ſhould ſupply all defects. And that he would *create* a pre- "cedent to condemn them by, rather than offend his dear ſon the king "of France." Conſequently ſome months after, in a private conſiſtory of cardinals, and biſhops, *whom complaiſance* (ſays Vertot) *brought over to his opinion*, he abrogated and annulled the order of knights templars. Fleuri. Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. * Via juſtiſe. Gurthleri, Hiſt. Templariorum. Num. 141.

The ſentence ran, That the neceſſary forms of law proving inſufficient to determine their offence, he condemned them by the apoſtolical authority veſted in himſelf. *(Rapin de Thoyras.)*

It is an undoubted truth that the templars were ſlaves to luxurious oſtentation, and all the voluptuouſneſs of a life of indolence. Their birth, valour, and the glory acquired in ſo many engagements, united to their immenſe revenues, had inſpired them with pride and a certain characteriſtick air of independance which muſt neceſſarily be infinitely offenſive to all crowned heads. Their privileges and poſſeſſions had involved them in very ſharp conteſts with moſt of the biſhops; and their inceſſant ridicule of the fanataciſm and pious frauds of the monks drew upon them dangerous enemies: add to theſe conſiderations, that Philip the Fair accuſed them of furniſhing Boniface VIII. with money during the time he was at variance with that pope; and of publickly reflecting, in very ſeditious terms, on his conduct, as well as on that of his two favourites, Proceſſus contra templar. Dupuy, p. 130.

favourites, Enguerrand de Marigni, and Stephen Barbette. Marigni was one of thoſe men who aſſume the character of miniſters of the ſtate, but in reality are the tyrants of it; ſheltered under the authority of a maſter, whoſe native equity they corrupt, by a flattering indulgence to all his paſſions. At a loſs to contrive new taxes, Marigni had recourſe to the moſt pernicious of all reſources, enhancing the nominal value of the current coin, and at the ſame time debaſing its quality. The alterations he made in it became ſo frequent, and were carried to ſuch exceſs, as to occaſion a popular inſurrection. The Pariſians plundered the houſe of *Stephen Barbette*, (the provoſt) aſſaulted the king's purveyors in the markets, inveſted the *temple*, where he then reſided, and would not ſuffer any proviſions to be carried in for three days. Marigni and Barbette accuſed the Jews and the Templars of fomenting this tumult; and as no prince ever poſſeſſed more haughtineſs than Philip, his pride rendered him implacable in his hatred. Beſides, he was avaricious, and at the ſame time extravagant in his expences; always diſtreſſed for money, and conſequently ready to ſuffer his reaſon to be impoſed upon by the ſchemes his miniſters contrived for its procurement. The difficulty therefore was not inſuperable to perſuade him to adopt a vindictive meaſure, which would fill his coffers with the ſpoils of the Jews, and part of the wealth imported by the Templars from the eaſtern climes. A report was immediately circulated at Paris, that the Jews had reviled *the Hoſt*, profaned ſome conſecrated chalices, and crucified children on Good-Friday.

Hiſt. de Paris.

Hiſtoire de L'Egliſe, Dupin, XIV. ſiécle.

The mob, fond of believing every thing that tranſports them to fury, were not ſlow in demanding the extermination of theſe enemies to the name of Jeſus.

The miniſtry put them all under arreſt, on the 22d of July 1306, confiſcated their eſtates, and robbed them of every thing that was not abſolutely neceſſary to defray their expences out of the kingdom.

Fleuri's Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt.

In the ſucceeding year, the knights templars, thoughout all the provinces of France, were ſeized upon with equal rigour; and tremendous tribunals erected for their tryals; the arch-biſhop of Sens, brother to Marigni, was preſident in that of Paris.

Clement V. ſat in the chair of St. Peter; and almoſt all hiſtorians, particularly St. Antoninus, arch-biſhop of Florence, Villani, and the continuator of Nangis, alledge that "this pope made a ſcandalous traffick of ſacred things; ſold benefices publickly at his court; plundered all the churches and monaſteries on the road, in his progreſs from

Fleuri. ibid.

" from Lyons to Bordeaux.——That his motive for eſtabliſhing the
" holy ſee in France was to avoid a ſeparation from the counteſs of Nangit. continuat. ann. 1305.
" Perigord, a daughter of the count de Foix, with whom he was deſ-
" perately enamoured.——That Philip having offered to ſupport his Villani.
" apoſtolical election on ſix conditions, he had ſworn upon the holy
" ſacrament, to execute them all; and that the extinction of the or- Choiſi.
" der of templars was one." Therefore, though he teſtified ſurprize and anger on receiving the firſt news of their impriſonment; though his letters breathed reſentment and invective againſt Philip, yet, according to ſome authors, this was only to ſave appearances of not having abandoned the rights and privileges of the holy ſee. Certainly his holineſſes wrath could not be very inexorable, ſince in one of his *Bulls*, ſpeaking of that monarch, he expreſſes himſelf thus: " Our very
" dear ſon was not influenced by motives of * avarice in his impriſon- * Non typo. avaricia.
" ment of the templars, but by a true zeal for religion. Nothing can
" be more foreign from his intentions than the deſire of appropriating
" to his own emolument, the ſmalleſt part of their riches! We, our-
" ſelves, have interrogated ſixty two perſons of that *order*, who all
" made ample confeſſion of the impurities and iniquities of which
" they were accuſed. The grand maſter alſo made the ſame acknow-
" ledgment at Chinon before our commiſſioners, the cardinals Beren-
" ger de Fredole, Stephen de Suiſi, and Landolphe de Brancaccio."
The grand-maſter of the templars, like the major part of the nobles of that age, could neither read nor write. He expreſſed the utmoſt aſtoniſhment on hearing the depoſition read to him at Paris, affirmed to have been taken from his own mouth. He croſſed himſelf twice, cry- Proceſſus, contra templar. p. 131.
ing out, " Were theſe commiſſioners not churchmen, I know what I
" would truſt my cauſe to!". He was anſwered that a cardinal never
accepted a challenge. " Well, then, ſaid he, I can only beg of the Choiſi.
" Almighty to puniſh them as the Saracens and Tartars do liars, and
" falſe witneſſes, by burſting their bodies aſunder!" Vertot ſays, that to accumulate more guilt upon the grand-maſter, the recorder of his depoſition might probably have added ſome aggravating circumſtances. But is this any juſtification of the commiſſioners? or ought a judge to ſign an interrogation without having read it?

On the pope's letters and ſolicitations to all the Chriſtian potentates, the templars were thrown into priſon throughout Europe; but put to death, only, in France, and Provence; the latter then appertained to the kingdom of Naples and Sicily.

The

The council of Vienne, after a total ſuppreſſion of their order, diſpoſed of their poſſeſſions in favour of the * knights Hoſpitalius of St. John of Jeruſalem; but Philip the Fair refuſed to relinquiſh them without a preliminary advance of two hundred thouſand livres towards defraying the expence of the proſecution againſt the templars. This, in thoſe days, was an immenſe ſum! yet Louis Hutin his ſucceſſor, thought it too ſmall, and demanded ſixty thouſand livres more. The reſult was, an agreement that he ſhould have two thirds of the money belonging to the templars, of the furniture of their houſes, of the ornaments of their churches, and of the profits and rents of their eſtates, from the 13th of October 1307, to the year 1314. Rapin ſays, "That "King Edward II. of England, in expectation of aggrandizing himſelf "by their wealth, aſſembled the parliament at London; they aboliſh-"ed the order of templars, but treated the members of it with more "lenity than they met with in France; being ſatisfied with diſperſing "them into different monaſteries, and allowing them moderate pen-"ſions out of their own revenues." According to the Abbé de Choiſi, the Engliſh nobility took poſſeſſion of all the lands belonging to the templars, alledging that "As theſe donations of their anceſtors were "given to the knights templars, and not to the knights of Malta, "the former order being now extinct, the lands ought to revert to "their ancient proprietors." The king of Caſtile united their revenues in that kingdom to the crown. The king of Portugal granted them to the order of Chriſt, which he had inſtituted. The king of Arragon appropriated to the crown ſeventeen fortreſſes of theirs in the kingdom of Valencia. The pope (z) alſo had a plentiful ſhare of this rich harveſt; particularly in the dominions of Charles II. king of Naples and Sicily, and earl of Provence and Forcalquier, where he had an equal diviſion with that prince of the money and moveable effects of theſe unfortunate ſufferers.

* The knights of Malta.

Reg. du. Treſor.

Dupuy.

Marigni (whom father Daniel repreſents as a miniſter of great merit) pillaged the finances, cruſhed the people with taxes, and ruined many individuals by unprecedented perſecutions; void of faith, a ſtranger to pity, he was the vaineſt, and moſt inſolent of all human beings! He had

(z) The Abbi Velli, in his Reign of Philip the Fair, aſſerts, that Clement V. reaped no advantage from the plunder of the templars, and that Dupuy, whom ſome authors have quoted, was incapable of aſſerting otherwiſe. Here are Dupuy's own words: "Theſe letters were obey-"ed; and the templars were condemned and executed; their perſonal effects forfeited to the uſe "of the earl of Provence, who ſhared them with the pope; whilſt their real eſtates reverted to the "knights of Malta." *(Hiſt. de la Condamn. des Templiers, prem. v. p. 57.) The firſt edition of this work was printed 5 years before the Abbe's hiſtory, I there quote Dupuy's authority, conſequently the Abbe accuſes me of falſhood.*

had the impudence to give the lie, in publick council, to the count de Valois, Philip's brother. On the eve of the feſtival of the aſcenſion 1315, juſt before day-break, (then the cuſtomary time) he was hanged upon a gibbet at Montfaucon, erected by his own order ſome years before, as I have already obſerved. And (ſays Mezeray) " as proprietor " of the edifice, was honoured with the upper ſeat, elevated above all " the inferior rogues." Ten years after, Monſieur, the count de Valois, equally enervated in mind and body, deputed perſons to diſtribute alms in his name, ſaying to every poor man, " pray for Mon- " ſieur de Marigni and for Monſieur de Valois." This prince's confeſſor had been ſecretly prevailed upon by the arch-biſhop of Sens, and the biſhop of Beauvais, to alarm his conſcience about the juſtice of Marigni's ſentence, whoſe proſecution, indeed, had not been altogether legally conducted.

A ſtatue of Marigni had been erected on the ſteps of the palace. This was pulled down. I had the curioſity to take a view of it in its preſent ſituation. It has no pedeſtal, but is ſupported by the wall, in a little court belonging to the Conciergerie priſon. In my opinion, the attitude is good. He appears to have been a low, plump man, with a ſmiling countenance. The drapery reaches below the knee; on the head is a kind of cope whoſe peak does not fall behind, but is twiſted careleſſly round to the left ſide of the neck. An embroidered belt is obſervable, with a ſword hanging from it.

OLD TEMPLE STREET.

AT about half an hour paſt ſeven in the evening of the 23d of November, the duke of Orleans, only brother of Charles VI. was ſurrounded in this ſtreet by eighteen ruffians, oppoſite to a houſe, then called *Our Lady's image*, adjoining to the religious *Hoſpitaliers* of St. Gervais. His attendants were only two equerrys, *mounted upon the ſame horſe*, and a (*a*) page, preceded by three running footmen, with torches. The chief of the aſſaſſins was a gentleman of Normandy, whoſe name was Raoul d' Ocquetouville. This abandoned wretch, with a ſtroke of a battle axe, chopt off the duke's left hand that held the bridle of his mule; and with two more blows cleaved his head in twain. It is reported that the blood ſtarted from his wounds the next day, at the approach of the duke (*b*) of Burgundy, to ſprinkle them

(*a*) This page called Jacob de Merre, endeavoured to cover his maſter with his body, and was ſlain upon him.

(*b*) Perhaps there may be a kind of ſympathy and antipathy in things that are totally *material!* According to this hypotheſis, the blood, accuſtomed to be violently agitated at the ſight of

&c.

with holy water, as a teſtimony of his innocence. This happened in the White Friars church, where the body had been carried; the duke of Burgundy was not then known to be the author of the aſſaſſination.

This Louis I. duke of Orleans, united a vaſt fund of wit to a moſt captivating figure, " which he employed in ſeducing the ladies of the " court; and (according to Brantome) ſome of ſuperior rank. One " morning, chancing to have a lady in bed with him whoſe huſband " came to make him a morning viſit, he carefully concealed her face " within the bed cloaths, and indulged him with a view of her per- " ſon; under forfeiture of his life if he preſumed to uncover her face. " The huſband being the night after in bed with his wife, told her " that Monſieur, the duke of Orleans, had favoured him with a ſight " of the moſt beautiful body he ever beheld: but of the lady's face he " was no judge, not having been allowed to remove the covering." This lady's name was Mariette d' Anghien, that of her huſband was the Sieur Canne de Varennes. To this little affair of gallantry (continues Brantome) the world is indebted for the valiant and enterprizing " baſtard of Orleans, the count de Dunois; the ſupport of France! " the ſcourge of England!"

Dames Galantes.

Moſt of the writers of that time inform us, that whilſt a very pretty lively girl, the daughter of a horſe-dealer, ſupplied the place of the queen with Charles VI. in the hotel St. Paul, the duke of Orleans endeavoured to amuſe her majeſty at the hotel Barbette. He had ſupt with

a perſon who is the object of implacable averſion, may have contracted ſo powerful an antipathy as to be ſuſceptible of a ſlight *momentum* at its enemies approach, though chilled by death. " It " is a certain fact (ſays Mezeray. v. 2. p. 127) that when *Richard, lœur de Lion*, appeared at " Cherion to celebrate the funeral of his father Henry II. of England, the body of that unfor- " tunate parent, robbed of life, and having no longer the power of words to reproach his un- " grateful ſon with all thoſe cruel vexations he had made him ſuffer, ſpouted fountains of blood " from the noſe and mouth to overwhelm him, as if he compelled it to exclaim, *Satiate thyſelf* " *with that blood of which thou appeardeſt ſo thirſty.*"

Vallemont, Baquette divinatoire.

M. De Thou relates that after Garcias de Medicis had ſtabbed his brother, Coſmo the Great, duke of Florence, their father forced him to touch the body, when inſtantly the blood guſhed out.

From the body of a man who makes violent efforts to defend his life, innumerable corpuſcles fly off, which attach themſelves to the murderer and his garments: when he approaches the perſon ſlain, theſe are attracted towards their native ſource; the body acting upon them like a magnet, they enter the wounds and give ſufficient motion to the coagulated blood to produce ſome degree of liquifaction.

The Tryal, or Judgment of God by the coffin, has been long practiſed in Germany. Whenever an aſſaſſin, notwithſtanding the moſt diligent examination, remains undiſcovered, they ſtrip the body of the murdered perſon and place it in a coffin: all thoſe who are ſuſpected of being accomplices in the murder are obliged to touch it; if any alteration or motion happens in a feature or limb, or if the wounds bleed a freſh, whoever has touched it at the time of ſuch extraordinary appearance, is deemed guilty of the deed. *(Beemann. diſſert. de prod. ſanguinis.)*

with her the very night he was murdered. There was alſo another report; that at a maſquerade ball, the dutcheſs of Burgundy had not treated him with cruelty. Hatred to the duke was ſaid to be one motive of his aſſiduity in gaining her affection; and he was ſo indiſcreet at an evening entertainment where the duke was in company, to ſing a ſong he had made upon the dutcheſs, giving her the epithet of *the black-haired beauty*. The chronicle adds, that he had a cabinet furniſhed with the pictures of all thoſe ladies who had granted him favours; and that the duke of Burgundy, receiving information his wife's portrait was in the collection, reſolved to revenge the affront to his honour by this infamous and baſe aſſaſſination.

The duke of Burgundy was ſon of Philip of France, who was taken priſoner by *the Black Prince*, at the battle of Poitiers, and carried to London, with his father King John. The two kings of France and England being at ſupper together, Philip gave the *lord in waiting* a box on the ear, ſaying, "Who taught you to ſerve the "king of England before the king of France, when they are at the "ſame table." "Indeed my couſin (ſaid Edward to him, with great compoſure) you have an indiſputable right to the title of *Philip the Bold!*" The courage which this young prince diſplayed at the battle of Poitiers, when he was no more than fourteen years old, merited the ſurname of *Bold*; but I cannot conceive why that of *Undaunted* was given to his ſon John, duke of Burgundy, whoſe heart though inacceſſible to remorſe, was in perpetual agitation from the dread of attempts againſt his life. After the Duke of Orleans's aſſaſſination, he ordered a tower to be built at the hotel * de Burgundy, and within it a chamber without windows, and with a very low door, which he faſtened at night and opened in the morning; uſing every precaution that puſillanimity inſpires in minds impreſſed with guilt. Butchers were his familiar companions; and the public (*c*) executioner was admitted to his court, attended his levee, and had the honour to kiſs his hand. The aſſaſſinations perpetrated at Paris under the direction of this unworthy prince, his perfidy to his country, and connection with England, render his memory execrable to poſterity.

* The Italian playhouſe is part of this palace.

Monſtrelet. Choiſi.

(*c*) His name was Capeluche. He was, for various crimes, condemned to be executed. When he was upon the ſcaffold, obſerving that the executioner went awkwardly to work, he deſired to be unbound, ſet the block in order, and examined whether the axe was ſufficiently ſharp: exactly (ſays the journaliſt) as if he had been to perform the office on another. At length, crying mercy Heaven! his own ſervant beheaded him. (*Journal de Paris, Aug.* 22. 1418.

THIBAUTODE' STREET.

AGNES DU ROCHIER was the daughter of a wealthy tradeſman in this ſtreet, who left her at eighteen years of age in poſſeſſion of a large fortune. In the bloom of beauty ſhe entered herſelf a *Recluſe* in the pariſh of St. Opportune, on the 5th of October 1403. Thoſe widows or virgins were ſtyled *Recluſes*, who had a ſmall apartment built, adjoining to the walls of ſome church. The ceremony of their excluſion from the world was ſolemnized with much magnificence: the church adorned with tapeſtry, and the celebration of maſs performed by the biſhop in his pontifical robes. Who after preaching a diſcourſe ſuitable to the occaſion, fixed his own ſeal upon the door of the little cell, having firſt plentifully ſprinkled it with holy water.

The only remaining aperture was a ſmall window in the wall, by which the *ſolitary devotée* heard divine ſervice, and received the neceſſaries of life.

Agnes du Rochier died at the age of ninety eight, heireſs to an affluent eſtate, that would have enabled her, for fourſcore years, to have viſited the ſick and the priſoner, to have relieved the indigent and unfortunate! She wanted to find the road to heaven without quitting her cell.

ST. THOMAS *of the* LOUVRE STREET.

ABOUT the middle of this ſtreet, there is a houſe, part ſtone, part brick; it now belongs to M. Artaud, but a hundred years ago, was the hotel de Rambouillet, ſo much celebrated by Mademoiſelle de Scudery, and the reſt of the wits of that age. The hotel de Longueville was then that of Cheoreuſe, the ſanctuary of all the machinations and political intrigues of the famous Cardinal de Retz, who had all the great qualities he choſe to have; which were not thoſe of a biſhop, a good citizen, or an honeſt man.

TIRECHAPE STREET.

FIVE men, who were bringing proviſions for the markets, were frozen to death at the corner of this ſtreet, on the night of the 20th of January 1608. Pierre Matthieu declares, he heard Henry IV. ſay at his levée the next morning, "that his muſtachoes were frozen to his pillow, though the queen was in bed with him." But—ſhe was his wife!

TIXERANDERIE STREET.

PAUL SCARRON lodged on the ſecond floor of a houſe about the middle of this ſtreet. Himſelf and his wife, afterwards Madame Maintenon, had only two rooms in front, divided by the ſtaircaſe; a kitchen on the ground floor, and a cloſet for a little footboy. M. de Voltaire ſays that Scarron, when he married in 1651, had lodgings in *L'Enfer* (or Hell) ſtreet.

There are four ſtreets in Paris of that name, but not one in the pariſh of St. Gervais; therefore he probably changed his lodgings afterwards, as he died here on the 1ſt of October 1660, at the age of fifty nine, and was buried in St. Gervais's church, to which pariſh Tixeranderie ſtreet belongs. His family was originally from Piedmont, and formerly belonged to the parliament of Paris. M. de Voltaire has reaſon to aſſert that "it was a lucky circumſtance for Mademoiſelle d'Aubigné to marry Scarron, though he was a cripple and had but a very moderate fortune." "Yet the expreſſion is not juſt when he adds, "he was a diſgrace to nature." For Scarron in his youth was well ſhaped, and of an amiable figure, but the conſequences of a debauch, at twenty ſeven, loſt him the uſe of his limbs.

GREAT, *and* LITTLE TRUANDERIE STREETS.

THE little ſquare called *Lovers Wells*, or Ariadne ſquare, is at the triangular point formed by theſe two ſtreets with that of Mondétour. Theſe wells had their name from the unfortuntae fate of a young lady, who on diſcovering the perfidy of her lover, and finding he had abandoned her, precipitated herſelf into one of them and was drowned: her name was Agnes Hellebie, and her father held a pretty conſiderable rank in the court of Philip Auguſtus. At the diſtance of about three hundred years, another adventure happened at theſe wells. A young man, in a fit of deſpair, threw himſelf in, but was ſo lucky as to eſcape being hurt by the leap, and eſcaped drowning by the timely aſſiſtance of his relenting fair one; who flung him a rope, aſſuring him he ſhould never more have cauſe to complain of her cruelty. As a mark of gratitude to the wells, he had them repaired and beautified. Sauval ſays, that in his time, there was yet legible on the margin, in Gothic letters, badly engraved, T. 1. p. 184.

"Love my honours did revive,
"In * five hundred twenty five."

* For 1525.

The

The author of a book called *Nocturnal Events*, aſſerts that a miſſionary, who was preaching in the church of St. James of the hoſpital, exerted his voice with ſo much zeal and ſtrength "againſt the even-"ing aſſignations at theſe wells; the ſongs which were ſung, the laſ-"civious dances exhibited, the vows of eternal conſtancy, ſworn as "ſolemnly as thoſe at the altar, and the conſequences following ſuch "vows," that all the fathers and mothers in the congregation, with all the devotees, flew to the place in an inſtant, and filled up the wells. I ſuſpect the truth of this anecdote, becauſe it is very unlikely that Sauval, who was a cotemporary writer, ſhould have omitted it. He only ſays, "I have ſeen water drawn from theſe wells, and I "have ſeen them dry: they are now almoſt filled up, and in a ruinous "condition."

The ancient word for taxes levied upon the people was *Tributes*, and by abbreviation, *Trus*. "From the word *Trus* (ſays Paſquier) is deri-"ved *Truander*, which ſignifies to abuſe and oppreſs. Becauſe thoſe "appointed to collect the taxes are generally men who have little ten-"derneſs or humanity for the poor ſubjects, on whom they exerciſe "the king's authority with a heavy hand." Probably they gave the name of *Truanderie* to thoſe ſtreets where the offices of the farmers and receivers of the revenue were kept.

T. 1. p. 883.

TROUSSE-VACHE * STREET.

* So called from the ſign of a cow with her tail erect.

THE Cardinal of Lorraine, on his return from the council of Trent, had a fancy to make a kind of *publick entry* into Paris; eſcorted by a party of ſoldiers. Marſhal Montmorency, then governor of the city, ſent him word he would not conſent to it. The cardinal anſwered haughtily and continued his proceſſion till he encountered Mountmorency who made a briſk attack upon his guards, and obliged them to diſperſe; leaving his eminency to take refuge in the back ſhop of a mechanic in this ſtreet; where he remained concealed till night, under a ſervant's bed

De Thou.

This very cardinal was preſident of the council in the reign of Francis II. Finding himſelf frequently importuned with ſolicitations from a great number of diſabled officers, and likewiſe from the widows of ſuch officers as had been killed in the ſervice of their country, who applied to the court for ſmall penſions towards their ſubſiſtance, he iſſued a proclamation by ſound of trumpet; in order, as he expreſſed it, *to free himſelf from theſe beggars*. Its purport was, "that all perſons who were come to Fontainebleau with petitions to the government, ſhould

Vie de Francis de Guiſe, p. 65.

ſhould depart within twenty fours hours; under peril of being hanged upon a gibbet, purpoſely erected in the front of the palace."——And this man died in his bed!

VAUGIRARD STREET.

* THE total amount of the rent of all the houſes in Paris, was only 312000 livres in the reign of Erancis I. At preſent, the order of barefooted carmelites alone, excluſive of the vaſt tract of land occupied by their convents and gardens, enjoy a revenue of 100000 livres from the rent of houſes they have built in this and the adjacent ſtreets! This order of friars did not take root in France till the year 1611, when a very ſmall houſe was given them by Nicholas Vivian, a citizen of Paris. To do them juſtice, riches do not make them proud; they continue the cuſtom of ſending ſome of their brethren every day, to beg at the doors of their own houſes!

* Hiſt. de Paris, L. XIX. Num. 55.

According to M. Camus, the biſhop of Bellay's calculation, one ſingle order of mendicants annually coſts Chriſtianity "thirty four millions of Louis d'ors," allowing only a hundred *Francs* for the feeding and cloathing of each individual. "Conſequently, continues "he, the moſt tyrannical prince never exacted ſuch enormous ſums for "the indulgence of his luxury, and the maintenance of his armies, "as the mendicants extract from the credulity of the people.——In"dolence diſpoſes them to live without labour; they rob the nation of "its wealth, and the real objects of charity of their bread."

L' Apocalypſe de Meleton.

Many learned Theologians have advanced, that the profeſſion of *voluntary poverty* is contrary to religion and good ſenſe. That our Saviour, though he choſe to live in a ſtate of humility, did not affect to make it a virtue; never aſked alms or made poverty his vocation. Was ſo far from teaching his diſciples to make begging a trade, that on the contrary he eſtabliſhed it for a maxim that men ought not to petition for alms through choice and inclination, but only when conſtrained to it by neceſſity.

Live by the labour of your own hands. Employ that time in works beneficial to ſociety, which ye now miſemploy in laying ſtratagems for legacies and charitable donations! Remember it is ſaid in the book of Geneſis, God placed man in the terreſtrial Paradiſe, to till the ground, and to cultivate it. *Tulit ergo Dominus Deus hominem & poſuit eum in Paradiſo voluptatis, ut operaretur & cuſtodiret illum.*

VER-

VERDELET STREET.

BUTCHER, was in ancient times an epithet of glory beſtowed on a general after a victory, as an acknowledgment of gratitude for the ſlaughter of thirty or forty thouſand men! John deMontigni, firſt preſident of the parliament, was ſirnamed (*d*) *Baker*, as a memorial of the ſupply of corn he brought into Paris in the time of a famine, which preſerved the lives of between twenty and thirty thouſand inhabitants. "I wiſh (ſays Mezerai) men would endeavour to immortalize ſuch ac- "tions as this by medals." Were the hiſtorian now alive he would have enjoyed his wiſh. A medal was ſtruck in Provence 1747, as a monument to poſterity of the obligations of that county to M. Bouret.

A letter from *Meſſieurs les Procureurs* of the county of Provence to M. Bouret, receiver general.

May 12, 1747.

"Sir,

"It is a mortifying circumſtance to us to ſee you depart without re- "ceiving ſome teſtimony of our lively gratitude; the ſentiments of our "hearts are alone equal to the ſervices you have done this province, "and all the outward demonſtrations we can ſhew, muſt ever be very "inadequate to our obligations to M. Bouret. What appeared to "us the moſt expreſſive indication of our ſentiments was the engra- "vure of a gold medal with the arms of the county on one ſide, with "theſe words Comitia Provinciæ, and on the exergue, this in- "ſcription; Stephano Michaeli Bouret quod Juſſu Ludovici XV. "Regis Chriſtianniſſime et Ope. Jo. Bapt. de Machault Generalis "Ærarii Moderatoris, Provinciam Maxima Rei Frumentariæ Penuria "Laborantem, Providentiſſime Suſtentavit, Hoc Grati Animi Monu- "mentum Procuratores Provinciæ Dicant Conſecrant. M. D. CC. XLVII. "This deſign being unanimouſly approved of in our aſſembly, orders "are diſpatched to Paris for ſtriking the medal. We are ſorry not "to be able to preſent it before your departure; and rely on your fa- "vourable acceptance of it when completed, as a teſtimony of the "gratitude

(*d*) His family exchanged the name of Montigni, for the honourable appellation, *Le Boulanger*, or Baker. He lived in the corner houſe between this and Platriere ſtreet.

" gratitude of the people of this province, as well as of the reſpectful " attachment with which we remain, Sir,

Your moſt obedient and moſt humble Servants,

The Marquis de Pierre Feu Julien,
Thomaſin, La Garde, Michel Pomiers,
Conſuls and Aſſeſſors of Aix, and
Procureurs for the *County of Provence*."

LA VERRERIE STREET.

THE proclamations of Charlemagne, St. Louis, Charles IV. and V. againſt backgammon and hazard take no notice of *cards*; which ſeems a proof they were not then invented. They appear to have been known towards the latter end of Charles V's reign, at leaſt they are mentioned in the chronicle of *little John de Saintre*, when he was page to that prince. The inventor of *cards* was a painter who lived in la Verrerie ſtreet; his name, Jaquemin Gringonneur.

The following article is in Charles Poupart's account, who was ſuperintendant of the finances to Charles VI. " Paid fifty ſix ſols, cur- " rent coin, to Jaquemin Gringonneur, painter, for three packs of " cards, gilded and painted with divers colours, and many devices, for " the uſe and diverſion * of our lord the king."

(Regiſter in the Accompt Chamber.)

* In the intervals of his unhappy diſtemper.

" We play (ſays Monſieur Crouzaz) to get rid of the converſation " of fools!" The world, it is true, abounds with fools, but does it not likewiſe abound with excommunicated perſons? For the council of Mayence in the year 813, ſeparated from the Chriſtian communion all perſons, as well eccleſiaſtical as civil, who ſhould play at any games of chance!

Cone. Magan. 14.

The love of gain renders us more polite than our anceſtors. They never ſtaked their honour, but if money failed, at the concluſion of their play, the loſer was obliged to depoſit ſome pledge of ſecurity for the ſum he had loſt. " The duke of Burgundy (ſays Laboreur) hav- " ing loſt ſixty *Francs* at tennis, to the duke of Bourbon, and Meſ- " ſieurs William de Lyon, and Guy de la Tremouille, left them his " belt in pawn till the money was paid. As he did another time to " the count d' Eu for fourſcore francs loſt at the ſame game."

Hiſtoire de Philip de Bourgogne, T. 1. p. 97.

A comedy of five acts by Thomas Corneille was acted at the theatre in the hotel de Guenegaud, 1676, entitled, *The Ladies Triumph*. It never was printed. One of the interludes was a dance repreſenting the

Théatre François, T. XI. p. 475.

game of piquet. It was opened by the four knaves, with halberds to clear the way. Then the king's advanced ſucceſſively, each leading his queen; their train borne by four ſlaves; the firſt repreſenting billiards; the ſecond, tennis; the third, hazard; and the fourth, draughts. The king, queens, and knaves, having formed figures in their dancing of tierces and quatorzes, ranged themſelves in two oppoſite diviſions of red and black at the head of their reſpective troops, and finiſhed with a croſs-dance where both colours were promiſcuouſly mingled.

I do not apprehend this interlude to have been a new thought, but rather a ſketch of the grand dance exhibited at the court of Charles VII. from which the idea of the game of piquet was originally taken: for it certainly was unknown till the cloſe of that prince's reign. What a number of perſons play all their lives at piquet, totally ignorant of its profound merit! A diſſertation, which, I believe, flowed from the pen of father Daniel, proves it to be ſymbolical, allegorical, political, and hiſtorical. Including in its *arcana* many highly important maxims of war and government. *As*, or Ace, is a Latin word ſignifying a piece of money, wealth, riches.—At piquet, the ace has the precedency, even before the king; to ſhew that money is the ſinew of war, and that if a king is unſupported by it, his ſtrengh will be ſoon exhauſted. The club, (*Trefoil*) an herb ſo common in meadows, teaches that a general ſhould never encamp an army in places where forage is likely to fail; or where it is difficult to procure a ſpeedy ſupply. The ſpade, (*Pike*) is an emblem of a magazine of arms, which ought, always, to be well furniſhed. And the diamond (*Carreau*) repreſents a ſpecies of ſtrong, heavy arrows, ſhot from a croſs-bow, and from the points being ſquare, called *Carreaux*. The heart, denotes the courage required in commanders and ſoldiers. David, Alexander, Cæſar, and Charlemagne command the four ſuits, or ſquadrons, to inſinuate that however numerous and brave the troops are, they have occaſion for generals whoſe prudence equals their experience and reſolution. When an army is found to be in a difficult ſituation, diſadvantageouſly encamped, or incapable of diſputing the field, a ſkilful general will endeavour to retreat with as much honour, and as little loſs as poſſible. This is the plan at *piquet*. If the foundation of our game is bad, if the *aces*, *quintes*, and *quatorzes*, are againſt us, we muſt take care to try to ſecure the *point*, in order to prevent the adverſary's having a *pique*,

Memoires pour l' Hiſtoire des Sciences & des Beaux Arts. ann. 1720.

pique, or *repique*; we muſt place guards round our kings or queens to avoid the *capot*.

On the four knaves are inſcribed the names of *Ogier* and *Lancelot*, two worthies in the time of Charlemagne, of (*e*) *La Hire* and * *Hector*, two diſtinguiſhed captains in the reign of Charles VII. The title of *varlet*, or *knave*, was anciently thought honourable; and the greateſt lords were ſo called, till they were created *knights*. The four knaves repreſent the nobility, as the tens, nines, eights, and ſevens do the ſoldiery.

* Hector de Gallard.

Argine, the name of the queen of clubs, is an anagram on *Regina*. This *card* was intended for Mary of Anjou, conſort to Charles VII. The Fair Rachel, queen of diamonds, for the golden-haired Agnes. The maid of Orleans was repreſented by the chaſte and warlike Pallas, queen of ſpades. And Iſabella of Bavaria, queen of hearts, by Judith. Not the ſame who ſlew Holofernes, but the empreſs Judith, wife to Louis the Debonair, who being accuſed of many gallantries, cauſed great diſturbances in the ſtate; and whoſe life had, conſequently, a ſtriking reſemblance with that of Iſabella.

There requires no great degree of diſcernment to diſtinguiſh Charles VII. under the character of David, king of ſpades. After a long ſeries of perſecution from Saul his father-in-law, David aſcended the throne of Judea, but in the height of his proſperity he had the grief to behold his ſon Abſalom in rebellion againſt him. Charles VII. diſinherited, and even proſcribed by his father Charles VI. glorioufly recovered his kingdom; yet the laſt years of his life were made miſerable by the reſtleſs ſpirit and unnatural diſpoſition of his ſon, afterwards Louis XI. who preſumptuouſly contended for his crown, and even occaſioned his death.

Thus, with the aſſiſtance of a commentator, a pack of cards may deſerve as high eſtimation as many a Greek or Latin author!

OLD ETUVES (*or* BATH) STREET.

THE uſe of hot-baths was formerly as familiar in France, as it is at preſent, and indeed always was in Greece, and in Aſia, where they

 conſtantly

(*e*) At the time when Paris and half the kingdom of France were in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, the report goes that Charles VII. ſhewed La Hire the preparations he was making for a dance, aſking his opinion of them? Faith, Sire, (La Hire replied) I believe no monarch ever loſt a kingdom in a pleaſanter manner than your majeſty.

There is a ſtory of La Hire, that as he was advancing at the head of his troops to attack the enemy, he ſuddenly ſtopt, fell on his knees, and claſping his hands together broke out into the following prayer. "O God I beſeech thee, that thou wilt this day do as much for La Hire, as, "were he God, and thou La Hire, thou wouldſt wiſh that he ſhould do for thee." This, he fancied, was a very devout ſupplication.

conſtantly practiſe it. St. Rigobert erected baths for the canons of his church, and ſupplied them with wood. Gregory of Tours ſpeaks of ſome nuns who quitted their convent, on account of ſome indecencies practiſed in the baths. Pope Adrian I. recommended to all the parochial clergy to walk in proceſſion every Thurſday to the baths, ſinging pſalms.

Bollandius, T. 1. Januarii, p. 175.

Greg. Tur. Hiſt. L. 10. c. 10.

It appears that all invitations to dine or ſup included an invitation to bathe. "The king and queen (ſays the chronicle of Louis XI.) feaſted at the houſes of ſeveral of their ſervants, and at thoſe of the chief magiſtrates of the city. Amongſt the reſt, they went to a ſupper at maiter John Dauvets, firſt preſident of the parliament, on the 10th of September, 1467, attended by Madame de Bourbon, Mademoiſelle Bonne, of Savoy, her ſiſter, and ſeveral other ladies. Here they were received, and entertained very ſumptuouſly, and four fine baths were prepared, richly decorated; on ſuppoſition that the queen would bathe; which ſhe declined, being ſlightly indiſpoſed; and alſo becauſe the times were full of danger. Madame de Bourbon, and Mademoiſelle de Savoy bathed in one of them, and Madame de Monglat, and Perrette de Chalou, a city lady, in another adjoining. In October, the king ſupt at the houſe of the Sieur Denis Haſſelin, his butler, where he was magnificently treated; and found three noble baths richly hung, for his majeſty to take the refreſhment of bathing. But, having a cold he refuſed it, as well as from a reflection that caution, too, was neceſſary in that age."

Whenever the honour of knighthood was conferred, the ceremony of the bath was performed with the utmoſt preciſion, in the following manner.

Gloſſaire de Ducange, T. 2. p. 357.

"When an *Eſquire* is introduced at court to receive the *order* of knighthood, he ſhall be very honourably received by the great officers of the houſehold. Two *ſquires* of *honour*, wiſe, and well-inſtructed in forms of courteſy and good breeding, and in all the ceremonies of chivalry, ſhall be entruſted with the care of providing every thing neceſſary for the occaſion. They are to prepare a convenient bath made of wood, and lined with callico: and alſo a barber, who is to cut the hair and beard of the ſaid *eſquire* in a circular form. The king will then pleaſe to command his chamberlain to lead into the *eſquire*'s apartment, the politeſt and moſt ſagacious knights who ſhall chance to be preſent, to inform him of all the rules of chivalry. The minſtrels ſhall precede the knights, ſinging and dancing merrily, to the door of the apartment, and when the

" the honorary ſquires ſhall hear the ſound of the minſtrels, they are " to undreſs the knight elect, and put him into the bath. Then " the ſuperior knight, kneeling down by the ſide of the bath, " ſhall ſay in a low voice, " Sir, you are to regard this bath as a high " mark of diſtinction." He ſhall then, to the beſt of his abilities, ini- " tiate him in all the myſteries of the order; ſprinkling water upon his " ſhoulders; and the reſt of the knights ſhall perform the like ceremo- " ny, ſucceſſively."

Charles VI. had a mind to beſtow the honour of knighthood on Louis, and Charles of Anjou. Theſe princes, ſays the chronicle, made their firſt appearance as ſimple *eſquires*, being dreſt only in a long tunick of dark brown cloth, untrimmed. They were led to the bath, and went through the ceremony of *immerſion*. They afterwards put on the *knights' robes* of crimſon ſilk, trimmed with ſquirrel ſkins, the train flowing, and the hood hanging from the mantle.—When ſupper was over they were conducted into the church to paſs the night in prayer, as was cuſtomary. The next morning the king entered the church, preceded by two ſquires with drawn ſwords erect, from the hilts of which hung two pair of gold ſpurs. At the concluſion of maſs, which was celebrated by the biſhop of Auxerre, the two princes kneeled to his majeſty, who embraced them round the neck, and girded them with the *girdle* of chivalry. The Sieur de Chauvigné buckled on their ſpurs; and the biſhop beſtowed his ſpiritual benediction.

" During the repaſt (ſays an ancient ſtatute) the new-created knight " is neither to eat or drink, to move, or lift up his eyes, any more " than a bride on her wedding day."

The Engliſh have an order of knights of the bath. According to the ancient inſtitution, the new-made knight was permitted to dine with the king on the day of his inſtallation; and when they roſe from table, his majeſty's head cook made his appearance with a great chopping knife, and threatened to chop of his ſpurs with ignominy if ever he departed from the oath he had ſworn.

VIVIENNE STREET.

A gardener in 1628, digging up the roots of an old tree, where the exchange now is, found nine cuiraſſes, or breaſt-plates. It was plainly apparent from the convexity of their make that they muſt have been deſigned for women. Who theſe heroines could be, and in what age they exiſted I have never been able to diſcover! Mezerai has the following paſſage in ſpeaking of St. Bernard's preaching to the people in favour of the *cruſade*.

" Amongſt

Hiſtoire de France, T. 2. p. 98.

" Amongſt the female ſex, ſeveral did not content themſelves with " bearing the croſs, but even put on armour to defend it: forming in- " to regular battalions, and rendering credible all that has been report- " ed of the valour of the Amazons."

When the Franks conquered the Gauls they wore no defenſive armour, except a buckler. " Superiority of numbers may overwhelm, " but never can diſmay them (ſays Sidonius Apollinarius.) That un- " daunted courage which animates them is impreſſed on their brow, " even after death! Their habits are ſhort, and ſit cloſe to their ſhape. " They engage in the battle bareheaded; and the celerity of their at- " tack is ſcarcely exceeded by the javelin they hurl." The cuſtom of wearing the helmet and cuiraſs did not take place till the reign of the ſons of Clovis, who borrowed it from the Romans and Gauls they had ſubdued. The lords of particular juriſdictions under the ſecond race of kings, and the knights under the third, wore an iron * *plaſtron*; over the *plaſtron*, a (*f*) *gobiſſon*; then a (*g*) *haubert*, and laſt of all a (*b*) coat of *achievements*. I am not able to determine whether all this *harneſs* was (as father Daniel ſuppoſes) more, or leſs inconvenient than that complete ſuit of armour which began to be the mode in 175, in the time of Philip the Fair, and (*i*) which covered the wearer from head to foot: but I believe that in becoming almoſt invulnerable to the ſword in both theſe methods, they at the ſame time became expoſed to a more cruel death, from the almoſt inſurmountable difficulty of riſing again, when once thrown from their horſe. Fewer indeed, were ſlain, but more had their brains beat out, than in the preſent

* Breaſt plate.

(*f*) The *Gobiſſon*, or *Gambeſſon* was a kind of doublet made of taffety, ſtuffed with wool and quilted. Its uſe was to deaden the effort of a lance, which, though it might not pierce the *haubert*, might be ſtrong enough to cauſe a contuſion.

(*g*) The *haubert*, or coat of mail, was a tunick made of ſmall plates of iron, to which the coverings of the reſt of the body were hooked, which were jointed the ſame as the *haubert*. The *helmet* guarded the head, face, and nape of the neck. A ſmall iron grate, which they could lift up at pleaſure to let in the air during the heat of an engagement, was called the *vizor*. At all *tournaments* the competitors were under a reſtriction of having their ſwords four fingers broad, to prevent their gliding in, between the bars of the *vizor*. (*Milice Françoiſe*, *T.* 1. *p.* 396.)

(*b*) The *coat of Atchievements* was made of ſuperfine cloth; and, ſometimes of gold or ſilver ſtuff, embroidered with the arms and devices of the wearer. The faſhion of it reſembled the *ſoubre-veſt* of the muſquetiers.

(*i*) In 1638, M. Deſnoyers (ſecretary of ſtate) wrote to Marſhal de Chatillon, " It is his " majeſty's pleaſure that you take care the *coats* of *mail* which are kept at Montreuil be diſtri- " buted, by the intendants, amongſt the French cavalry: and that you inſiſt upon the officers " wearing them, under penalty of being degraded from their rank. From your eloquence and " that of the marſhal de la Force, the king expects to convince them of what importance it is to " the ſtate, as well as to their own preſervation, not to appear perpetually in the field dreſt in a " doublet, to oppoſe an enemy clad in complete armour."

preſent way of fighting. In deſcribing the battle of Fornouë, *Philip de Comines* ſays, "The French army had a vaſt train of * attendants "who encompaſſed theſe heavy-armed Italians, and killed the greater "part. Moſt of theſe retainers had hatchets to cut wood; and with "theſe weapons, they hacked the vizors of their helmets, and ſtun-"ned them with the violence of their blows. For though the Itali-"ans were not eaſily ſlain, ſo completely were they armed at all "points; yet no ſingle man could reſiſt the united force of three or "four Frenchmen ſurrounding him at once." Deteſtable rights of war! "Alas! (cries Charron) man hides himſelf in darkneſs and re-"tirement; and ſecretly gives being to his own ſpecies! But when he "ſeeks its deſtruction, the ſun is invited to ſhine upon his ſlaughter! "martial muſick proclaims it! the air reſounds with acclamations! "It is thought great want of decency to mention ſome ſubjects in con-"verſation; but men glory in talking of ſwords and ſpears! whatever "is inſtrumental to the death of mankind is a badge of honour."

* Followers of the camp.

UNIVERSITY STREET.

SO called, becauſe the ground formerly appertained to the univerſity, by the name of *Clerks meadow*.

The univerſity was once no inconſiderable part of the ſtate. When the court attempted to invade its privileges the ſchools were immediately ſhut. The divines became ſuddenly ſeized with ſuch violent colds that all preaching was at an end.—The phyſicians ceaſed to viſit their patients.—The people murmured and grew clamorous—The court was obliged at laſt to give up their point, and make the univerſity reparation for the affront.

ZACHARIAH STREET.

NOT many years ago a ſtone was remaining over the porch of a houſe (the corner one between this and St. Severin ſtreet) about two feet ſquare, carved with various figures. The principal ones were, a warrior diſmounted by his adverſary, and the victorious hero crowned by a lady with a (*k*) chaplet of roſes: The inſcription, "To the va-"liant Clary — In defiance of Envy." This monument, the ſiſter of William Fouquet, equerry to queen Iſabella of Bavaria, conſort to Charles VI. dared to erect in the front of her houſe, to the glory of her relation, the Sieur de Clary, at a time when the court was ſo violently enraged againſt that brave man as to proſecute and condemn him to

(*k*) This was the prize the votaries of love were favoured with, from the fair hands of the object of their vows.

to die upon a ſcaffold. Peter Courtenay was an Engliſh knight, the favourite of his maſter Richard II. who travelled to Paris to challenge Guy de la Tremouille, ſtandard-bearer, at ſword and lance; only becauſe Tremouille had the reputation of being one of the braveſt and moſt expert ſwordſmen in France.

After breaking ſeveral lances againſt each other, at a tournament where the whole court was preſent, the king would not conſent that they ſhould draw their ſwords, as there was no enmity betwixt them, but merely an emulation for glory. Courtenay, on leaving the field, went to viſit the counteſs de St. Pol, the king of England's ſiſter, where he repeated ſeveral times that no Frenchman had courage to enter the liſts with him! "The Sieur Clary (ſays the Chronicle of St. "Denis) thought his honour concerned to make a particular quarrel "of the injurious reflection caſt upon the whole nation, by this brag-"gard. He therefore, even with the counteſs's approbation, appoint-"ed the liſts for the next day. Clary behaved ſo gallantly that he "drove his enemy from the field, covered with wounds. The diſin-"tereſted part of mankind regarded this action as worthy an accom-"pliſhed knight, and as a proper chaſtiſement of the Engliſhman's "arrogance. But the opinions of the court are not always favoura-"ble to merit; as the prejudices of individuals will occaſion deciſions "ultimately different from thoſe of the publick. The duke of Bur-"gundy, who envyed Clary the fame he had raviſhed from his favou-"rite Tremouille, gave a new turn to the affair. He declared it an "unpardonable crime for a private man to fight a duel without firſt "having the royal permiſſion. Such was the effect of his malevo-"lence that ſtrict ſearch was made for this brave knight, who avoided "it with difficulty; ſo that I have ſeen him reduced to the neceſſity "of flying for refuge from place to place, leaſt an exploit, un-"dertaken with no other view than to vindicate the honour of his "country, ſhould be expiated with his blood, as if he had been its "betrayer!"

Le Laboreur, Liv. 5. p. 111,

How ſtrangely contradictory were the manners of thoſe times! when men would take extraordinary precautions to avoid death, caſing themſelves in armour from top to toe, and yet would run round the globe to fight with perſons who never gave them the ſlighteſt offence, like *Tremouille* and *Courtenay!*

It is apparent by the letters which paſt between the famous earl of *Eſſex*, and admiral *André* of *Villars Brancas*, that the ancient form of challenges

challenges inſtituted in times of chivalry, were ſtill uſed in the reign of Henry IV. The earl commanded the troops ſent by queen Elizabeth to the aſſiſtance of Henry in 1591. His letter to the admiral runs thus.

" If you will engage me either on horſeback or on foot I will " maintain that the king's quarrel is more juſt than that of the league. " That I am a better ſoldier than you. And that my miſtreſs is fairer Chron. Nov. " than yours. But if you refuſe to fight me at ſingle combat, I will " bring twenty with me, the loweſt of whom ſhall rank with a co- " lonel; or ſixty, if you pleaſe, none of them below a captain."

The admiral replied. " In regard to the concluſion of your letter, " where you maintain that you are a better ſoldier than me, I anſwer, " It is a *lie*. And that you will be guilty of a lie every time you offer " to aſſert it. Alſo, you lie whenever you affirm that the quarrel I " ſupport in defence of my religion is leſs juſt than thoſe who endea- " vour its deſtruction. As to the compariſon in beauty between your " miſtreſs and mine, I am likewiſe convinced that you have no more Mezerai, " regard to truth in this article, than in the two former ones. But c. 3. p. 990. " this is not a thing I take much pains about determining, at pre- " ſent." No conſequences attended this challenge.

It was uſual for the ancient knights-errant to ſelect ſome lady, to whom (as to the ſupreme being) they thought themſelves accountable for all their thoughts, words, and actions. I am amazed no writer has traced the origin of this gallant devotion from the manners of our German anceſtors! " The Germans (ſays Tacitus) believe there is " ſomething celeſtial in women."

END OF THE FIRST PART.

THE HISTORY OF THE CITY of PARIS, &c.

PART II.

The Church of NOTRE DAME.

THE Chriſtians had no publick places of worſhip at Paris, till towards the year 230. The firſt church erected in that city was in the reign of the Emperor Valentinian I. about 375, called St. Stephen's; and this was the only religious building, within the boundaries, in 522, when Childebert, ſon of Clovis, contributed by his benefactions to its reparation; he beautified it with glaſs windows, and enlarged it by the addition of a chapel, dedicated to *Our Lady*. The plan of the preſent cathedral, though far more extenſive, includes the foundation of both theſe edifices, and was undertaken in the reign of Louis *the Young*, 1160. The paſtors of thoſe days ſeem either to have been leſs zealouſly arduous, or more unſucceſsful in their undertakings than their brethren of the preſent generation; ſince it was near two hundred years ere the building was compleated. Part of the ceremony, at that time, obſerved at the feaſt of Pentecoſt, was the introduction of *cloven tongues* and *doves*, through apertures made in the roof; which ſat on the heads of the aſſiſtant prieſts during the celebration of a maſs.

On the death of a biſhop or a canon, his bed became the perquiſite of the *Hotel Dieu*. But after indolence and luxury had introduced a more elegant taſte than nature required, there aroſe frequent conteſtations between the biſhop's creditors, and the hoſpital, concerning the curtains, and ſupernumerary coverlids, blankets, and matraſſes. The parliament of Paris, in 1654, put an end to the oppoſition of the creditors of Francis de Gondi, archbiſhop of Paris, by decreeing his bed, with all its appurtenances, to the *Hotel Dieu*. This is the bridal-bed of thoſe girls who are educated there.

In digging under the choir of this cathedral, March 1711, the workmen diſcovered, at the depth of fifteen feet, [a] nine ſtones, whoſe bas-reliefs, and inſcriptions did not fail to excite the attention of the antiquaries of Europe. I have read all their conjectural explanations, and what appears to me moſt probable is, that in the reign of Tiberius, a company of foreign merchants (*Nautæ Pariſiaci*) erected an [b] altar (in an open expoſure) on this ſpot (then the port of Paris) to Eſus, Jupiter, Vulcan, Caſtor and Pollux. Piganiol, after aſſerting that it was eaſy to diſtinguiſh among theſe ſtones one, that ſerved for a cenſer to the altar, by its form, and by a cavity filled with incenſe and charcoal, adds that, it was improbable the place where theſe ſtones were found ſhould have been that of their firſt deſtination; and much more natural to believe them part of an altar conſecrated to Jupiter, which the Chriſtians overturned, and whoſe ruins had been diſperſed by the populous. A conjecture worthy of this writer: on ſuppoſition the altar had been erected elſewhere, and the ſtones promiſcuouſly jumbled together, muſt not the incenſe and charcoal have been thrown out? was there a poſſibility of their remaining undiſturbed in the hollow part of the ſtone?

Deſcription of Paris, p. 369.

An equeſtrian ſtatue on the right hand, ſupported by the pillar adjoining to the choir, repreſents Philip of Valois, and not Philip *the Fair*. That prince, on his return to Paris after the battle of Caſſel, repaired in his military accoutrements to the church of *Notre Dame*, and returning thanks to *God* and the *Virgin* for the victory he had gained, devoted his horſe and armour to the church.

See diſſert. at the end of this Vol.

That of St. Chriſtopher, was an accompliſhment of the vow of Anthony des Eſſarts: he had been impriſoned with his brother Peter, ſuperintendant of the finances, who was beheaded in 1413: on that very night Anthony dreamed St. Chriſtopher broke the bars of his priſon window, and carried him away in his arms; being acquitted ſome days after, he ordered this coloſſial ſtatue to be erected, and his own in a kneeling attitude at the feet of the Saint.

Louis XIII. requeſted the Pope to convert the epiſcopal ſee of Paris into an archbiſhoprick; and, in 1622, obtained his petition. The ſame requeſt had been made by Charles V. to Gregory XI. in 1376; but

[a] One may judge how much higher the ground of ancient Paris muſt have been, from the aſcent of 13 ſteps to enter the cathedral; whereas, now there is a deſcent.

[b] I ſay an *open expoſure*, becauſe the Gauls, after their ſubjection to Rome, when they began to have temples, never built them within the walls of cities; that they had not any in Paris, is an undoubted fact.

but that Pope replied, "he was reſtrained from granting it whilſt the "endowments of that church remained ſo inconſiderable." I ſhould ſuppoſe this would not have been an objection in the days of the apoſtles. Duchesne's hiſt. of French cardinals.

Louis XIV. in April 1674, erected the eſtates and lordſhips of St. *Cloud, Maiſons, Creteil, Ozoirla, Ferriere,* and *D'Armentieres* into a dutchy in favour of Francis Harlay, archbiſhop of Paris, immediately after the duke of Bethune Charoot.

The large octagon baſon, in the garden of the Thuilleries, is ſaid to be equal in diameter to the heighth of the tower of Notre Dame.

The PALACE.

THE ordinary reſidence of all our monarchs of the third line, from Hugh Capet to [c] Charles V. was an aſſemblage of heavy towers, that had a communication with each other by galleries, and a proſpect towards *Iſſi, Meudon,* and St. *Cloud.* What was called the King's Garden, took in the ground of *Lamoignon* and *New-Court,* with all thoſe brick houſes that ſurround them, and are eaſily diſtinguiſhed to be a more modern ſtyle of architecture than the other buildings. This garden was ſeparated by a branch of the river (now Harlay Street) from two ſmall iſles, connected with each other, and with the city; and on which the *Place Dauphine* was begun to be built in 1608.

The parliament ordered a ſtone ſtepping-block to be raiſed in May Court, to aſſiſt the old preſidents and counſellors in mounting their pads with greater eaſe, when the buſineſs of the day was over. In thoſe times it was thought as great a mark of politeneſs for a counſellor to offer the crupper of his horſe to a brother counſellor, as it is now to offer him a place in his coach.

Il me demande, etes vous à cheval ?
N'avez vous point ici quelq' un de votre troupe ?
Je ſuis tout ſeul à pied : lui de m'offrir la croupe. Regnier, Satire 7th.

What an abſurdity would it appear to us were we to ſee two magiſtrates in their robes and bands riding upon the ſame beaſt, like the ſons of Aimon. "Guy Loiſel, every Saturday eve, walked by the ſide of "his father, who rode upon a mule to his country ſeat near *Villejuif.*"

It muſt be confeſſed, there was not much oſtentation in this method of travelling; but at the ſame period we ſhall find a very noble proof of that firm intrepidity of ſoul which directed their deliberations, when the queſtion in debate was, whether the rights of their native

 ſovereign

[c] He removed to the Hotel St. Paul, built by his direction.

ſovereign ſhould be ſupported. Let us figure to ourſelves the ſituation of Paris, a prey to fanaticiſm and faction, to men who repeatedly breathed nothing but ſlaughter and aſſaſſination. Let us reflect on a parliament unaſſiſted, unſupported, encompaſſed with blood-thirſty zealots; yet undiſmayed by their fury, nothing could intimidate it. That famous arret * of June 28, 1593, was iſſued, which ſaved the ſtate, and ſecured the government to our lawful and beſt kings. Whoever examines the great actions recorded in hiſtory will not find a ſtronger inſtance of unlimited devotion to the good of our country, and the laws of juſtice and honour.

* For the obſervation of the ſalique law.

The Palace of TERMES.

DIOCLESIAN's baths at Rome were not finiſhed till the year 306; the *Palace of Termes* was founded upon their model. It is therefore ſurpriſing any writer ſhould affirm this palace to be anterior to the time of the Emperor *Julian*, who did not command the armies in *Gaul* before 357. Beſides, in a plan of this nature, a ſupply of water muſt have been a very material conſideration, and accordingly the ruins of an aqueduct, which had been built to convey the ſtream from *Arcueil*, were diſcovered in 1544: now there is a ſtrong preſumption, that neither the aqueduct nor palace were in being when *Julian* was there, becauſe he expreſſly ſays in his *Miſopigon*, "The *Pariſians* inhabit an iſland, "and have no other water than that of the *Seine*." I ſhould rather apprehend this prince, on his departure from *Paris*, gave orders for erecting a palace that might perpetuate the memory of his magnificence to a city he loved, and where he had been proclaimed Emperor.

By the relations of *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Libanius*, and *Zozimus*, it appears "that the ſoldiers, who proclaimed him in their camp in the evening, went in troops to the ſquare before the palace, and mounted guard throughout the night, which palace (ſay they) was indiſputably that of *Termes*, without the walls of the city, for there could not be a ſpace ſufficiently capacious to [d] admit ſo many regiments, within the city." To this reaſoning I reply, there ſeems no difficulty, if we ſuppoſe this to have been the ſelf-ſame ſpot where Charles VI. a thouſand years after, aſſembled the inhabitants of *Paris*. "The king, ſays the chronicle of St. *Denis*, reſolving to re-eſtabliſh tranquillity, convened the citizens in the court of the palace; [e] a ſcaffold was raiſed upon

[d] Theſe troops hardly amounted to more than nine or ten thouſand, ſince they were only part of the army that *Julian* led againſt *Conſtantius*; the whole of which, according to theſe writers, did not exceed twenty thouſand men.

[e] The ſquare before the palace was not then encloſed with walls, or incommoded with ſhops and houſes as it now is; beſides, the adjacent ſtreets were thrown farther back.

upon the platform, which his majeſty and his uncles aſcended, when the chancellor, by the king's command, addreſſed the people.

" How impoſſible muſt it have been, continue the objectors, to find any building within the city capable of accommodating that ſwarm of courtiers who attended *Julian!* The prefect of *Gaul*, maſter of the ordnance, of the horſe, of the rolls, of publick offices; ſteward of the houſehold, and domeſticks; grand chamberlain, treaſurer, ſecretaries, groom of the chamber, judges, tribunes, &c, &c." In anſwer to this more pedantick than ſenſible enumeration of the learned *Adrian de Valois*, I ſhall only relate one fact. The Emperor *Charles* IV. and his ſon *Venceſlaus*, elective king of the *Romans*, made a viſit to our *Charles* V. in 1378; the emperor and both the kings were accommodated in this very palace.

The journaliſt of the reigns of *Charles* VI. and VII. relates, that on " Tueſday 21 of June, 1428, the Duke of *Bedford*, then regent of *France*, gave one of the moſt ſumptuous entertainments, in the palace of *Paris*, that age had ever ſeen. Perſons of all ranks were admitted. The regent and the dutcheſs, with the nobility, were ſeated at tables, furniſhed with a magnificence agreeable to their reſpective ranks; the clergy according to their ſubordinate orders, as biſhops, prelates, abbots, priors; doctors in all ſciences; the parliament; provoſts of *Paris*, of the Chatelet, of the merchants; lawyers and citizens; and laſtly the commonalty of all trades; theſe took their places at dinner to the number of eight millions." P. 116.

Let us take a ſhort ſurvey of this city, which has been repreſented ſo diminutive; and where, in the time of *Julian*, there were neither temples to falſe deities, convents, hoſpitals, nor churches; I diſcern an archiepiſcopal palace, a cathedral, the cloiſter of the canons of *Notre Dame*, a ſquare, a market-place, the *Hotel Dieu*, and foundling hoſpital, two monaſteries, twelve parochial churches, forty ſix ſtreets, beſides the royal palace, with all its dependencies.

I ſhall finiſh this article by obſerving that there always had been a palace in the city, where *Cæſar* and the procunſuls, his ſucceſſors, reſided; that *Julian* lodged there at the time he was choſen Emperor; that it continued the habitation of many monarchs of the *firſt* and *ſecond* race, and was the ordinary reſidence of *Hugh Capet*, and other ſucceeding princes till the reign of *Charles* VII. who totally relinquiſhed it to the courts of parliaments. As to the palace of *Termes*, its date commences about the year 360, near a hundred years before the time of *Clovis*;

Clovis; who, as well as his ſon Childebert, and ſome other kings of the firſt race, preferred its ſituation to that of the city palace. The palace of *Termes* ſuffered greatly in the Norman devaſtations; and towards the extinction of the ſecond royal family, the gardens, and ſuch apartments as were ſtill habitable, became the reſort of women of gallantry, who did not venture to make aſſignations in their own houſes.

The LOUVRE.*

* From an old *Saxon* word, *Louveare*, which ſignifies a caſtle.

WHEN the palace of *Verſailles* was built, by order of *Louis* XIV. they called it, *a Favourite without merit*. With equal propriety it may be ſaid of the *Louvre*, that with all its merit, it never was a favourite. *Dagobert* made it the ſtable of his hunters and dogs. Monarchs of an indolent turn went thither frequently, but only after dinner by way of digeſtion, when [*f*] they ſauntered, or lolled in their coaches through the foreſt that ſhaded the banks of the *Seine*; returning in the evening in barges; ſometimes taking the amuſement of angling; they ſupped at *Paris*, and ſlept with their queens. This royal manſion is never mentioned in the time of the *ſecond race*; nor even in that of the *third*, till the reign of *Philip Auguſtus*, who converted it into a kind of citadel, encompaſſed with deep foſſes, and flanked with towers †. The great tower of the *Louvre*, as it was ſtyled, was built on an iſland encircled with a platform, and by its height ſerved eminently to darken and obſcure the apartments of the adjacent edifice.

† Taken down by Francis I.

One would think this prince's intention in admitting no more light than ſufficed to excite gloomy ideas, was meant to intimidate the great feudatories of the crown when they came to offer their faith and homage: and to indicate that this great tower, this *beacon of ſovereignty*, was a priſon prepared for their reception if they forfeited their oath of allegiance. Three Earls of *Flanders* (John of Montfort, who conteſted the dutchy of Brittany with *Charles* of *Blois*, and *Charles the Bad*) were at different times, impriſoned in it. After more than ſix centuries, by an enlargement of the city began by Charles V. 1367, the *Louvre* became encloſed within the walls which were completed by *Charles* VI. 1383. The annual revenues of *Charles* V. did not exceed a million of livres, yet he expended fifty-five thouſand of them in making the apartments of this palace more lofty, commodious, and agreeable. But neither that monarch, nor his ſucceſſors, till *Charles* IX. made it their uſual reſidence; rather allotting it for the reception

[*f*] Part of the foreſt was remaining in the time of St. Louis; for writers take notice, that he erected the hoſpital de Quinze *Vingts* in a wood.

of foreign princes who visited their court. In the reign of *Charles* VI. *Manuel*, Emperor of the East, and *Sigismund*, Emperor of *Germany*, resided there, as did the Emperor Charles V. in the reign of Francis I. 1539. It has been observed, that though all these princes were received with the most magnificent honours when they made their entry into Paris, a scrupulous attention was paid to furnishing them with black horses. It was the distinction of a sovereign in his own dominions to ride upon a white horse. "The Emperor *Charles* X. says "*Christiene de Pisan*; and his son *Venceslaus*, King of the *Romans*, rode "upon black horses sent them by King *Charles* V. when they made "their entry into *Paris*. They were assigned this colour not without "reason, for it was an established custom, in the empire, for the em-"peror to visit his chief cities, mounted on a white horse; therefore "*Charles* could not allow him to make the same appearance in *France*, "but set out from his palace to meet him on a stately milk-white "palfrey, attended by the dukes of *Berry*, *Burgundy*, *Bourbon*, *Barre*, "with an innumerable train of earls, barons, knights, and dignitaries "of the church in Roman copes."

Charles IX. *Henry* III. and IV. and *Louis* XII. lived at the *Louvre*, and made additions to the structure. There are no vestiges of the ancient castle of Philip *Augustus* that Charles V. repaired, nor any thing of greater antiquity than the reign of Francis I. Sire, said Dufrény to Louis XIV. who was fond of him, and often diverted himself with the drollery of his humour, I never behold the modern *Louvre* without exclaiming softly to myself;—"Superb monument of the magnificence of that great monarch, whose fame has reached the extremities of the earth! Palace worthy of kings! Thou hadst been completed ere this, hadst thou been assigned to one of the four orders of Mendicants to hold its chapter, or lodge its general in." The idea is extravagant, yet it recalls to my remembrance that not one of these *religious* ever wanted the necessaries of life; whilst it is related by Cardinal de *Retz*, in his memoirs, that going one morning to the *Louvre* to visit the queen of *England*, he found her in the bedchamber of her daughter, afterwards dutchess of *Orleans*. She said to him, "You see I come "to bear Henrietta company; the poor child is obliged to lie in bed "to day, for want of a fire." The fact is real, adds he, that Cardinal Mazarin was six months pension in arrears;—that tradesmen refused to trust her; and there was not a faggot of wood in her palace: The parliament, on receiving information of this, sent her forty thousand franks. O, *Henry!* my King! my Master! could it be thy granddaughter

daughter who had no fire to riſe by, in the month of January, in thy palace of the *Louvre?*

Piganiol remarks, that if ever the noble deſign of embelliſhing the *Louvre*, ſketched out when *M. Colbert* was ſuperintendant of the royal buildings, ſhould be executed, the church of St. *Germain* de L'Auxerrois, the houſes in the cloiſter, and ſome of the adjacent ſtreets muſt be taken down, to give room for a grand ſquare on the ſide towards the *Pont Neuf*, where, by opening an avenue to the *Louvre*, the whole extent of that magnificent front would be placed in a beautiful point of view, from the bridge. This plan was *Claude Penault*'s, and is the fineſt piece of modern architecture perhaps in the world.—(Deſcription of Paris, V. II. p. 128.)

We may hope, indeed, to ſee it executed by the Marquis de *Marigni*, the only miniſter ſince *Colbert*, whoſe application has tended ſolely to the glory of the king, and the utility of the publick. He has already complied with the general wiſh of the nation in undertaking to finiſh the *Louvre*, and undoubtedly the ſquare is comprized in that deſign. There would be no great difficulty in conſolidating ſome *Abbey lands* to the rectory and canonries of St. Germain de L'Auxerrois, by way of indemnification for the houſes to be taken down. I even apprehend there would be no neceſſity for removing the church, but only to ornament the veſtibule: but at the worſt, it would be nothing but rebuilding it out of the *æconomical fund*, as was done in the parochial one at *Verſailles*; and by this method the king and the city would be freed from expence.

The TUILLERIES,

RECEIVED its name from the place of its ſituation, called the Tuilleries, or Brick-Kilns. Catherine de Medicis was the projectreſs of this palace in 1564. It conſiſted of a large ſquare pavillion, with two wings and terraſſes leading from them, on the garden ſide, terminated by two ſmaller buildings. Henry IV. and Louis XIII. and XIV. extended, elevated, and decorated it; notwithſtanding the aſſertion, that there is leſs regularity of proportion than at firſt, it may ſtill be juſtly regarded after the *Louvre*, as the fineſt palace in *Europe*.

An aſtrologer having foretold that *Catherine de Medicis* would die at St. *Germains*, the queen moſt ſuperſtitiouſly avoided all places and churches that bore the name. She went no more to St. *Germain en laye*; and becauſe her palace of the *Tuilleries* ſtood in the pariſh of St. *Germain de L'Auxerrois*, ſhe built another near St. Euſtatius (now the Hotel de *Soiſſons.*) Some perſons infatuated with the credulity of aſtrology, on

on hearing that *Laurence* de St. *Germain*, biſhop of Nazareth, attended the queen in her laſt moments, believed the prediction accompliſhed.

It was at the *Tuilleries*, four days preceding the maſſacre of St. *Bartholomew*, that *Catherine* gave the feaſt, mentioned too ſlightly by moſt writers of that age. The reader's curioſity is excited but not ſatisfied. *Mezerai* thinks it ſufficient to ſay, that at the celebration of the king of *Navarre*'s marriage with *Margaret* of *Valois*, the court abounded with diverſions, ſuch as balls, tournaments, &c. Among other entertainments the queen's party could not forbear indulging themſelves in exhibiting one which might truly be ſtyled an emblematical repreſentation of the cataſtrophe preparing for the *Huguenots*. The fable was the *Siege of Paradiſe*, which the king of *France* and his brothers defended againſt the king of Navarre and his party, who were repulſed and driven to the gates of Hell. I ſhall tranſcribe a deſcription I met with in ſome very ſcarce memoirs of that time. "On the right ſide of the ſaloon, appeared the Caſtle of *Paradiſe*, Charles IX. and his brothers, completely armed like knights, defended the entrance. On the left ſide was a ſcene of Hell, where a group of devils of all dimenſions were employed in turning a great wheel hung with bells; and in the exhibition of a variety of apiſh geſtures and yellings. A river ſeparated Paradiſe from Hell, on which was *Charon* in his boat. The back ſcene of Paradiſe repreſented the Elyſian fields, that is to ſay, a garden of delightful verdure, embelliſhed with a diverſity of flowers and fruits. An empyreal Heaven ſhone above, by means of a wheel in continual rotation, that turned the planetary ſyſtem, conſtellations, and ſigns in the zodiac painted on it: illuminated by a vaſt number of lamps and flambeaux artificially diſpoſed behind the ſtage: the garden was alſo involved in the vortex with its inhabitants, twelve nymphs magnificently adorned. Several troops of knights-errant, who were *Huguenot* nobles, expreſſly appointed for the occaſion, armed at all points, wearing colours diverſly fancied, and marching under the banners of the king of *Navarre* and prince of Condé, attack the Caſtle of Paradiſe, to gain poſſeſſion of the beautiful nymphs of the garden: but are repulſed by the three knights who defend it. Every one enters the liſts ſucceſſively, and is overcome in ſingle combat; their lances broken, and wounded by thoſe of their antagoniſts; the king of Navarre and his party are driven back to the infernal regions, and carried off by devils; the engagement terminates with cloſing upon them the adamantine gates. At that inſtant *Mercury* and *Cupid* deſcend."

Mem. of the ſtate of France under Charles IX.

" deſcend from Heaven mounted on cocks. Etienne, the king's fa-
" mous ſinger, in the character of Mercury, diſmounts, and addreſſ-
" ing the three victorious knights, ſings a melodious compoſition,
" makes an eloquent ſpeech, and aſcends into heaven, with Cupid on
" his bird. The knights riſe from their ſeats, paſs through the caſtle
" to the Elyſian fields, in queſt of the nymphs, whom they lead to
" the front of the ſtage, and form a dance of diverſified meaſure for
" above an hour. The impriſoned knights are ſet at liberty, and
" after tilting with each other for ſome time, retire from the tourna-
" ment. The whole concluded with ſetting fire to a train of powder
" round the margin of a fountain erected in the midſt of the theatre;
" the exploſion and ſmoak hurried the company away."

In the repreſentations of that evening, however deceitful other appearances might be, the real thoughts of *Charles* and his privy council are ſtrongly marked.

Catherine de Medicis, whoſe deteſtable politicks had corrupted the naturally good diſpoſition of her ſon, was the ſoul of this council. Can one think without emotions of horror of a woman capable of conceiving, compoſing, and decorating an allegorical repreſentation of a maſſacre deſigned to be perpetrated within four days, on one half of a nation who were her ſubjects? Who could ſmile on her victims! ſport with carnage! With unaverted eyes behold *Cupid* and the *Graces* dancing on the banks of a ſea of blood! and mingle the charms of harmony with the dying groans of millions of unhappy wretches murdered by her decree!

It is remarkable, that the moſt beautiful publick garden at *Athens* was called the *Tuilleries*, or *Ceramigue*, from having been formerly a brick-kiln, like that of Paris.

The HOTEL *de* VILLE, *or* TOWN-HALL.

WHEN the *Franks* conquered *Gaul*, they made no alteration in the eſtabliſhed form and adminiſtration of government in cities. Each was governed by particular officers with the title of *Guardians of the city*; whoſe employment it was to preſerve the inhabitants in their privileges and commerce; and preſcribe and regulate thoſe expences neceſſary for publick utility. Theſe *Guardians* were elected from the *Company* of *navigators*, who were honourable citizens, incorporated and aſſociated for the extenſion of commerce. Thoſe inſcriptions found in the church of *Notre Dame* were, as I have already taken notice, on an altar raiſed by this *company* in the reign of *Tiberius*. It may naturally

rally be conjectured that the *mercatores aquæ Pariſiaci*, mentioned in the reign of *Louis the Fat* and *Louis the Young*, ſucceeded theſe ancient *navigators* under a different appellation, and that we need not ſeek farther for the origin of that municipal body, ſince diſtinguiſhed by the name of the *Hotel de Ville*, and entruſted with the general direction of mercantile affairs. There is no account where theſe aſſemblies were held in the time of the 1ſt and 2d race of kings: but at the commencement of the 3d, they appear to have been held in a houſe in the *valley of miſery*, called the *commercial houſe*; after in one ſtyled the *Parlour of the citizens*, near the Great *Chatelet*; then in a tower within the walls, near the ſpot where the Jacobin's college now is, in St. James's Street. This body, in the reign of *Philip the Bold*, 1124, was entitled *The commercial Provoſt and Magiſtrates of the City* of Paris. In 1351, they bought the *Houſe de Greve*, otherwiſe called the *Houſe of Pillars*, from a colonade in the front of the edifice, for 2880 livres. This houſe had appertained to the two laſt dauphins; Charles V. on his acceſſion to the throne, made a grant of it to *John d'Auxerre*, receiver of the taxes, in conſideration of his ſervices. The preſent *Hotel de Ville*, begun 1533, and finiſhed 1605, was built on the ruins of this and ſome neighbouring houſes. I apprehend it would be difficult to find a public edifice in a worſe taſte, or with a leſs degree of elegance. There ſeems alſo the ſtrongeſt impropriety in aſſigning the *ſquare* before it for the ſcene of national rejoicings, on the birth of a prince, the gaining a victory, or any happy, publick event. The ſelection of this ſanguinary ſpot, ſurrounded with ſcaffolds and gibbets, for the celebration of fireworks, and other marks of feſtivity, may be conſidered as the remains of *Gothiciſm* in our manners!

The Great and Little CHATELET.

PARIS, before it had any ſuburbs, was encompaſſed with a wall flanked with towers, at regular diſtances. When it was beſieged by the *Normans* in 885, in the reign of *Charles the Fat*, the city could only be entered by two bridges, one called *Le petit pont*, the other, *Pont au change*. Theſe were defended by two towers, one within the encloſure of the walls, and conſequently within the city; [g] the other ſeparated from it by the bridge and river. The outward boundary of

[g] In *Pelleterie* and St. *Louis*'s ſtreets near the palace, the ruins of the walls of two old towers are ſtill viſible; ſome pretend, that in *Pelleterie* ſtreet was originally called the tower of *Marquefas*, and afterwards *Rolando*'s tower; but it ſeems a very uncertain tradition, whether the famous *Rolando* ever lived in Paris.

theſe buildings was the ſpace now occupied by the *Great* and *Little Chatelet*.

The *Little Chatelet* was entirely burnt to the ground by the *Normans*. In all probability the *Pariſians* rebuilt it on the ſame ſpot after the ſiege was raiſed; where it ſtood till the time of *Charles V.* who, in 1369, ordered the preſent edifice to be erected.

The *Normans* made an unſucceſsful attack upon the *Great Chatelet*. *Abbon*, a contemporary writer, and poſſibly an ocular witneſs of the fact, reports that after endeavouring to fill up the foſſes of the tower with faſcines, and even with dead oxen, expreſſly ſlaughtered for the purpoſe, they even threw in the bodies of their priſoners, whom they cruelly murdered to ſerve them for a bridge! Gozlin, biſhop of *Paris*, ſtruck with indignation and horror at this ſcene of inhumanity, darted his javelin, in the ſame moment invoking the Virgin, and killed one of the perpetrators of this barbarous action, whoſe body was inſtantly thrown into the heap.

The name of *Cæſar's chamber* has been appropriated by tradition to one of the rooms in the *Great Chatelet*. The antiquity of the large tower, and theſe words, *Tributum Cæſaris*, [*b*] engraved on the marble under the arch, ſtill legible towards the end of the 16th century, appeared to Commiſſary *de la Marre* unqueſtionable proofs of this fortreſs's having been built by command either of that conqueror, or ſome of the firſt Roman emperors. To avoid the trouble of refutation, I agree that there may have been from time immemorial a fortification of ſome kind in this very place. By a tariff, in the time of *St. Louis*, for regulating the rights of toll for paſſing the bridge of the *Little Chatelet*, it is enacted, that the pedlar who brings an ape for ſale, ſhall pay four *deniers*; but if the ape is the property of a jugler, on making the ape play and dance before the toll-gatherer, he ſhall acquit him of toll; not only for the ape but for whatever he has in his pack. Hence the proverb, *Pay for an ape with money or gambols*. Another article in favour of juglers is that they ſhall be releaſed from the toll by ſinging a couplet.

* So called, from the bankers who lived there.

* LE PONT AU CHANGE, *or* EXCHANGE BRIDGE.

GREGORY of Tours mentions a report being prevalent in his time, that at the conſecration of Paris a taliſman was made, repreſenting in braſs the figures of a ſerpent and dormouſe, which was placed under

[*b*] *Corrozet*, whoſe works were printed in 1550, ſays he had been aſſured by perſons then living, that they had ſeen written on the walls of the Chatelet, *Here tribute money was paid to Cæſar.* And even now *Greek* and *Roman* letters are diſcernible on ſome of the ſtones.

under the bridge; but that in cleanſing the bed of the river theſe figures were taken away; ſince which the city had been frequently ſet on fire, and was much infected with ſerpents and mice. *Germain Brice* boldly cites this paſſage without having read it, and joins a ridiculous reflection to a very falſe quotation.

The dealers in birds, who were allowed the privilege of ſelling them on this bridge, were obliged when a king or a queen made their publick entry, to ſet two hundred birds at liberty. This cuſtom was apparently deſigned to intimate to the people, that if their rights and privileges had ſuffered any violation in the preceding reigns, they ſhould all be reſtored under the government of the new monarch.

When *Iſabella* of *Bavaria*, queen to *Charles* VI. made her grand entry into Paris, a perſon had the dexterity to ſlide down a rope from the top of the tower of *Notre Dame* to a houſe on the *Pont au Change* with a lighted flambeau in each hand. This artiſt was a *Genoeſe*. He then purſued his flight, and paſſing under a canopy of blue taffety, embroidered with gold flower *de lys*, extended over the bridge, he placed a crown on the head of *Iſabella*, remounted his cord, and appeared again in the air. The chronicle adds, it being night, he was viſible throughout the city and adjacent villages.

LE PONT NEUF, *or* LADY BRIDGE.

OVER this bridge the eccleſiaſtical infantry of the league paſſed in review before the Legate, June 3d, 1590. Capuchins, Minimes, Cordeliers, Jacobins, Carmelites, and Bernardines: all with habits tucked up; cowls hanging behind; helmets on their heads, cuiraſſes on their breaſts, muſquets on their ſhoulders, and ſwords at their ſides; marching in platoons. The reverend biſhop of Seulis in the van, with his general's ſtaff. The rectors of St. *James de la Bouchiere*, and of St. *Côme* performed the office of ſerjeant majors to the regiment. Some of theſe religious militia not conſidering their pieces were charged with ball, had the complaiſance to ſalute the Legate, and killed one of the almoners at his ſide. His Eminency finding the fire too hot, haſtily diſpatched his benediction, and retreated from the field. Hiſt. of Paris.

LE PONT NEUF, *or* NEW BRIDGE.

IS 1020 feet long, and 72 broad. It was undertaken in 1578, and finiſhed in 1694. To carry on the work, it was neceſſary to join two ſmall iſlands that lay on the weſt ſide of the city, and had hitherto been divided by an arm of the river, now *Harlay Street*. The *Place Dauphine*

Dauphiné was alſo part of theſe iſlands in 1608. The largeſt of them was called *L'Iſle aux Treilles*, the other *L'Iſle de Buci*. *Louis the Young* in 1160, ſettled on the lecturer of the chapel of St. Nicholas of the palace, ſix meaſures of wine annually, of the growth of *L'Iſle des Treilles*, or *Vines*.

L'Etoille's ſupplement, 1510,

PLACE DES VICTOIRES, *or* VICTORY SQUARE.

Mem. B. V.

ABBE de CHOISI aſſerts, that Marſhal *Feuillade* had an intention of purchaſing a vault in the church *des petits Peres* in order to carry on a covered way from thence to the midſt of the ſquare, that his body might be interred exactly beneath the ſtatue of *Louis* XIV.—— I know very well the actions and victories of Marſhal Feuillade did not entitle him to a monument at St. Dennis with *Dugueſclin* and *Turenne!* — but at the ſame time he ought not to be blended with that tribe of idle, uſeleſs courtiers, fit only to be buried under the feet of their maſter's ſtatue, in a place dedicated to the idol they inactively adored.—— This pleaſantry of *de Choiſi*'s is one of thoſe arrows that fall ſhort of the mark, and only hurt the archer whoſe malignity they diſcover.

Barriers before royal PALACES, *and particular* HOUSES.

PRINCES of the blood had formerly an unlimited juriſdiction over their domeſticks. Great officers of the crown enjoyed the ſame privilege over thoſe whom their employment gave them authority, as well as over their menial ſervants. In any popular commotion, or grievance that wanted redreſs, the perſons that thought themſelves injured, aſſembled before the houſe of the governor, grand almoner, chamberlain, equerry, chancellor, or prince of the blood; in a word of whoever had a right to hear the complaint, and to puniſh the offenders. The prince, or officer of ſtate, appeared at the door, where a *barrier* was erected to keep off the multitude, on which he leaned to hear the cauſe of their application. This is the origin of thoſe rails ſtill remaining before ſeveral houſes. Cardinal *de Roban*, as grand almoner, had one in *Temple Street*. There is none before the *Hotel de Soubiſe*, nor thoſe of any of the princes of *Lorraine*. The Hotels *d'Evreux*, and *d'Auvergne* have none. The Hotel *d'Armagnac*, and that of Bouillon have; becauſe one was the reſidence of the grand equerry, the other of the chamberlain. The dean of the marſhals of *France* had alſo a claim to one, as repreſentative of the conſtable. There certainly is an impropriety in ſuffering *barriers* to remain, when the proprietors of the houſes are no longer entitled to them: but the difficulty of their removal

moval would be great, ſo they muſt wait the decay of time. *That* before the comptroller general's houſe was placed becauſe it appertained to Monſieur *de Poutchartrain* the chancellor, whoſe office gave him a right to a barrier; and becauſe it was deſigned for the reception of ambaſſadors extraordinary. It appears rather abſurd to ſee one at the India houſe; for though the conſtruction is ſomewhat different, there is yet the air of a *barrier*, little correſponding to the idea of mercantile citizens.

Concluſion of the anecdotes relative to the buildings at Paris.

Non omnibus loquor. SENECA.

Of the GAULS.

PAUSANIAS, ſpeaking of the *Gauls*, ſays they were anciently called *Geltæ*; and that the cuſtom of calling them *Gauls* is of modern introduction. *Celtic* was the original language of all the weſtern nations, and I think [*i*] it demonſtrative that it ſtill is preſerved in [*k*] lower *Brittany*, and in *Wales*, with ſuch alterations and variations as time muſt inevitably produce. *Gall*, and *Kelt*, in the Celtic tongue, ſignified *valiant*, *courageous*, as they at preſent do in the *Britiſh*. *Polybius*, and *Ammicanus Marcellinus* deſcribe the *Gauls* graceful in ſtature, of countenance expreſſive, eager, haughty and fierce; in their manners candid, frank, and extremely affable to ſtrangers. Cæſar ſpeaks of them as curious to exceſs; ſtopping travellers, and preſſing round them in the publick markets to enquire after news. They were fond of dreſs, adorned their perſons with bracelets, necklaces, rings, and girdles of gold. Their naturally fair hair they endeavoured to dye red; a colour more agreeable in their opinion: this they effected by a compoſition of goat ſuit, and the aſhes of beech wood. The *Vergobrets*,

[*i*] One proof which carries a ſufficient degree of conviction is, that notwithſtanding their ſeparation, and having had no correſpondence together for ſeveral ages paſt, they ſtill underſtand each other.

[*k*] *Brittany*.—The ancient name was Armoria, derived from two *Britiſh* words, *armor*, the ſea, and *rita*, coaſt; the inhabitants of the iſlands of Great Britain painted their bodies with various colours, in the taſte of ſome of the preſent Indian nations. The Gauls called that iſland *Britanes*, from *Brith*, which ſignified to paint in divers colours, and *Enes* an iſland. The name of *Picti* or *Picts*, given by the *Romans*, apparently conveys the ſame meaning.

brets, or chief magiſtrates, on days of publick ceremony, powdered their hair and beard with gold duſt. The women were admitted into aſſemblies where peace and war were debated. Whoever came laſt to theſe meetings was puniſhed on the ſpot; and perſons whoſe office it was to proclaim ſilence, were authorized to cut off part of the garment of ſuch as were too vociferous. New-born infants were inſtantly plunged into cold water to render them robuſt, by tempering their ductile bodies like ſteel. Corpulence was ſubject to a fine, which annually received augmentation or diminution, according to the bulk of the perſon. When a father had a daughter to marry, he ſent a general invitation to the young men of his canton to dine with him; and granted her the unreſtrained liberty of chooſing the perſon moſt agreeable to her fancy. The diſtinguiſhing mark of preference was preſenting him with water to waſh before the reſt of her gueſts. A proceſs in law was ſometimes determined by two ravens; the contending parties each made a cake of flour, oil, and wine, which they placed on a board, and conveyed to the banks of an adjacent lake; two ravens immediately made their appearance, who devoured one of the cakes entirely, but ſcattered the other abroad. The party whoſe cake was ſcattered, gained the cauſe. A man who has been non-ſuited may perhaps imagine this an emblematical kind of prophecy, which the Druids made uſe of to deſcribe the future adminiſtration of juſtice in France. Ravens are voracious, their plumage is black, and the ſucceſsful party is often very near as great a ſufferer as he who loſes the cauſe.

Cæſar.

Strabo.

Strabo.

The *Gauls* held the oak in high veneration, eſpecially ſuch as the ceremony of the *Miſletoe* had conſecrated: the [*l*] new-year was opened with this rite; the *Druids*, attended by the magiſtrates and populace, crying out to the *Miſletoe of the new year!*—marched into a foreſt, and raiſed a triangular altar of turf round the ſtateliеſt oak, engraving on the trunk, and on the largeſt branches, the names of thoſe deities whoſe omnipotence they revered. [*m*] *Teutatis*, [*n*] *Eſus*, [*o*] *Taranis*,

[*l*] The commencement of the year among the Gauls was in the 16th night of the moon in the winter ſolſtice. They called it the *Maternal night*, as productive of all the reſt. They calculated in this manner in *France* down to the twelfth century, talking of the 15th night, as we do now of the 15th day.

[*m*] *Teutat*, or *Teutatis*, ſignified in the Celtic, as it ſtill does in the *Britiſh* language, *Father of the people*: from *Teut*, people, and *Tat*, father. The *Gauls*, ſays *Cæſar*, *boaſt their deſcent from Pluto*. This is however certain, that *Teutat* and Pluto were ſynonymous terms amongſt the *Gauls*.

[*n*] *Eſus*, or *Eus* was the God who propagated ſlaughter and horror in battle; enervated, or reanimated the courage of heroes, and decreed who were to fall by the ſword. *Eus* in Britiſh is terror, —a ſort of religious horror. *Euxenes* the iſle d'Oueſſant, or weſtern iſle,—from *Eues* an iſle, and *Euz* terror.—The iſle of terror, ſo called from a conſecrated trophy to *Eſus*, or *Eus*.

[*o*] *Tarânis*, the God of thunder. *Tara*, both in the Celtic, and Britiſh dialect, ſignifies thunder.

Theut,

Theut [*p*] *Belenus*. Then the chief of the [*q*] *Druids*, dreſſed in a white robe, aſcended the tree, and cut, with a golden hatchet, a branch of *Miſletoe*, whilſt two prieſts waited under the tree to receive it in a linen cloth; being peculiarly careful not to let it touch the earth. The water in which the *Miſletoe* was dipped, they diſtributed to the multitude by way of luſtration, who were perſuaded of its efficacy againſt witchcraft, and that it was a remedy for many diſeaſes.

The *Gauls* believed *Mitheas* the ruling power of the conſtellations. They had repreſentations of him in both ſexes, and worſhipped him as the principle of light, heat, fecundity,—and of malevolent, as well as proſperous influences. Thoſe initiated in the myſteries of his worſhip, were divided into ſeveral communities, diſtinguiſhed by a ſymbol of one of the conſtellations; and the members walked in proceſſion at their publick feſtivals under the ſimilitude of a lion, a ram, a bear, or a dog, that is under thoſe figures by which the different conſtellations were uſually repreſented. Behold the undoubted origin of our maſque-rade balls in theſe ancient religious ceremonies.

Cæſar, de Bello Gallico, L. 6. Pliny, L. 16. C. 44.

Of the Principal Seminary of the DRUIDS.

CÆSAR poſitively declares this college to have been ſituated on the confines of the province of *Chartrain, (in finibus Carnutum.)* The town of *Dreux* probably owes its derivation to this college, as the word *Druid* does from *Drus*, which ſignifies in the Celtic, and the old Britiſh tongue an oak. The *Druids* were alſo called *Senans*, prophets, or wizards. Mela, who wrote in the time of the emperor Claudian, reports that there was a college of female Druids, whom the Gauls ſtyled *Cenes*, in the little iſle of *Sena* (now the *Iſle de Seine)* oppoſite to the Quimper-cozentin coaſt. Their number was nine; they were under a vow of perpetual virginity; they delivered oracles, and were believed to have a power to controul the winds, or raiſe tempeſts at their pleaſure. *Senans* and *Cenes* undoubtedly ſpring from *Kener* or *Caner*, which in Celtic and Britiſh is to prophecy or predict.

In regard to the word *Senans*, there is a letter in Martin's religion of the Gauls, from a canon of St. Genevieve to a Benedictine monk, which runs thus; "I beg of you, Reverend Sir, to examine into the

[*p*] *Belenus* anſwered to the Grecian and Roman Apollo. He was the *Sun* as well as the God of Phyſick. The epithet *Fair* is beſtowed on Phœbus by the Greek and Latin poets, and *Belen* is the old Britiſh word for Fair.

[*q*] Some writers are of opinion, that *Druid* draws its origin from two Celtic words, *Di*, God, and *Rhoüidd*, ſpeaking: that is to ſay, ſpeaking of God. But it ſeems highly probable *Druid* was derived from *Drus*, when we conſider the adoration paid to the oak by the *Druids*; and that keepers of foreſts were ſtyled *Druyers*, and are ſtill called *Gruyers* by the Welſh.

" opinions of M. *de Valois*, and other writers, concerning the habi-
" tation of the *Senantes*, between *Chartres* and *Dreux*. A vaſt num-
" ber of medals of great antiquity have been found in two fields ſitu-
" ated between the church of *Senantes*, and a place called *Great Con-*
" *dray*. I will ſend twenty or thirty of them by the firſt opportunity,
" that you may ſhew them to the connoiſſeurs. A ſmall ſquare apart-
" ment under ground has been likewiſe diſcovered by the ſinking of a
" horſe at plough. The pavement of this apartment is inlaid, moſaic
" work, in ſmall pieces. The ſlighteſt digging or ploughing throws up
" coins, and ſeveral ſpots in theſe fields, where no corn will grow, ſhew
" the earth to be hollow underneath." In a donation of the church of *Senantes* to *Colorus*, in the time [r] of *Ives* of *Chartres*, the ground is called *Locus de Senantes*; what does that appellation mean? Suppoſing the ſeat of the *Druids* was at *Dreux*, *Senantes* is not very diſtant. —But then the abundance of ſubterranean bricked cavities, and coins continually diſcovered, ſeem to indicate this to have been a Roman ſtation. D. Martin adds this obſervation, that the Roman taſte in the coins, and other antique remains found at *Senantes*, proves nothing, becauſe the *Druids* were eminent, wealthy, and powerful in Gaul, many ages ſubſequent as well as antecedent to the ſubjugation of theſe extenſive provinces by the *Romans*; and conſequently the prieſts might have imitated their manner in buildings erected at *Dreux* and *Senantes*, after the time of *Cæſar*; nor is it extraordinary they ſhould be amply ſupplied with their coin.

Sentiments of the GAULS, *on the State of the* SOUL *after Death.*

THE *Gauls* were accuſtomed to burn with the body of their deceaſed friend, his warlike accoutrements, cloaths, favourite animals, and ſometimes [s] thoſe ſlaves he eſteemed the moſt. They lent ſums of money on condition of repayment in the other world, and threw letters into the funeral pile, addreſſed to their departed friends and relations. The ſoul was believed to be in an eternal ſtate of progreſſion from this world to another, and from another to this; or, in other words, that death was only the entrance into a new world, and life returning

Diodorus Siculus.

[r] *Ives* of *Chartres* died 1115, at the age of fourſcore years.

[s] Omnia quæ vivis cordi fuiſſe arbitrantur in ignem inferunt, etiam animalia; ac paulo ſupra hanc memoriam, ſervi & clientes; quos ab iis dilectos eſſe conſtabit una cremabantur. (Cæſar de Bello Gallico, L. 6. num. 17.)

turning back to the old one. That after death, the ſoul [t] tranſmigrated into another vehicle; and that inequality of condition, and the various proportions of pain and pleaſure were regulated in the other ſtate, according to the good or evil actions done in this. Alſo, that by bravely defending the liberties of their country, devoting themſelves as victims to appeaſe the Gods in any publick calamity, or ranſoming the life of their prince, patron, or friend, they expiated whatever crimes they had committed, and were certain of being admitted to the immediate enjoyment of a glorious and delightful life in the ſociety of heroes. The northern nations believed that heroes were admitted into the palace of their God Odin, where every day they were entertained with military engagements; drew up their armies; attacked and defeated the enemy; then, quitting their horſes, parched with hunger and thirſt, they ſat down to feaſt in the hall of Odin, where a delicious boar was ſerved up, which ſufficed the whole company, however innumerable; and though this repaſt was daily repeated, the ſame individual boar was daily renewed. Lucan.

The Druids believed, as I have already obſerved, in a *future ſtate*, where the ſame ranks, diſtinctions, pains, and pleaſures, ſubſiſt as in the preſent world; a world, inhabited by the ſame race of mortals. Probably their idea reſembled that of the Greeks and Romans in thoſe fleeting ſhades, the inhabitants of *Elyzium* and *Tartarus*: but their opinion was different in regard to the eternity of rewards and puniſhments. According to their ſyſtem, theſe were of unequal duration, and conſiſted in being impriſoned in other bodies. They alſo regarded it as an act of piety to our parents and friends, to ſend them into another world, which, at the worſt, muſt prove an advantageous alteration.

The *Metempſychoſis* of *Pythagoras* appears a more ſimple and natural ſyſtem. The objection is immaterial, that, to puniſh the ſoul according to the laws of juſtice, it ought to retain a conſciouſneſs of its tranſmigration into another body. To this I reply, that a *Pythagorean* in extreme miſery, is naturally led to conclude, upon his own principles, that his ſufferings were undoubtedly inflicted as a juſt puniſhment for the vices he had been guilty of, in an antecedent ſtate. And thus,

[t] The Druids doctrine was, that the ſoul never dies, but is conſtantly fluctuating from one body to another;—and this belief was the ſource of that reſolution which enabled the *Gauls* to encounter death with ſuch intrepidity. Non interire animas, ſed ab aliis, poſt mortem, ad alios tranſire; atque hoc maxime ad virtutem excitare putant, metu mortis neglecto. (Cæſar. L. 6. num. 13.)

as *Pythagoras* obſerves, the deſign of *Divine Providence* is fully anſwered, in deterring mankind from vice, and exciting them to virtue, by the preſentation of rewards and puniſhments.

The Siege of PARIS, *by* Labienus, *one of Cæſar's Lieutenants, in the year of Rome* 701, *fifty-two years before the Chriſtian Æra.*

LABIENUS, leaving the recruits newly arrived from *Italy*, to guard the baggage at *Sens*, marched with four legions towards *Lutetia*, (or *Paris*) which then was confined to that ſmall iſland we call the City. He found the *Pariſians* encamped behind a moraſs, formed by the overflowing of the river (now the *Fauxbourg St. Marceau*). After an unſucceſsful attempt to render a paſſage practicable, by means of faſcines and hurdles, *Labienus* drew off his troops in the night, and marched to *Melun*, a place incapable of making any reſiſtance, having ſent the flower of its inhabitants to aſſiſt the *Pariſians*. Finding there fifty large boats, he conſtructed a bridge, which enabled him to croſs the *Seine*, and encamp on the ground, now covered with ſo many houſes and ſtreets, from the church of St. *Gervais* to the *Louvre*.

The *Pariſians* apprehending the city to be indefenſible, ſet fire to it, cut away the bridges, and fortified themſelves on the other ſide of the river, extending their right wing towards the bottom * of Mount *Leucotitius*, and their left to the quay of *Conti*. A rumour ſoon after prevailing, that the people of Auture had freed themſelves from the Roman yoke; and that *Cæſar* had raiſed the ſiege of *Clermont* in *Auvergne*, with the additional circumſtance of a ſcarcity of proviſions having compelled him to retire into Narbonne *Gaul*, *Labienus* thought only of returning with the utmoſt expedition to *Sens*, where he had left all the military baggage. But what rendered a retreat hazardous, was the neceſſity of paſſing the *Seine* in ſight of the *Pariſians*, leaving the inhabitants of Beauvais in his rear, who were ready for purſuit. To extricate himſelf from this difficult ſituation, he had recourſe to ſtratagem. The fifty boats brought from Melun, he entruſted to a party of Roman knights, whom he ordered, as ſoon as it grew dark, to go down the river ſilently and ſecretly, and wait his arrival two leagues from the camp, with five cohorts for a guard. He gave directions to five other cohorts to go up the river towards *Melun*, making all poſſible noiſe and buſtle in their embarkation. Laſtly, he prepared to join the *Roman* knights with three legions at the place of appointment; that is to ſay, oppoſite to Auteuil.

* Place Maubert and St. Genevieve.

The

The *Pariſians* no ſooner perceived theſe various movements of the enemy, than they attributed their apparent diſorder and conſternation to the bad news they had received, and concluded their ſeparation into parties was intended to ſecure their flight. The *Pariſians* therefore made three diviſions of their troops; one remained to guard the camp, another took the road towards *Melun*, [*u*] and a third, that which led to *Meudon*. *Labienus* had already gained the paſſage of the *Seine* with his army: this latter party of the enemy attacked him, and after a moſt furious engagement which laſted till night, victory declared for the *Romans*. The city of *Paris* remained under their dominion till the reign of *Clovis*, about five hundred and thirty-four years.

* *The* FRANKS.

* From a German word, which ſignifies free.

ACCORDING to the author of the atchievements of our kings, [*x*] the *Franks* elected a monarch with *long hair*, whoſe name was *Pharamond*, the ſon of *Marcomir*. *Gregory* of *Tours* ſays, "The *Franks* having paſſed the *Rhine*, made their firſt eſtabliſhment in [*x*] *Tongrie*, when the cantons and cities agreed to elect a king with *long hair*, from the family of greateſt diſtinction amongſt them." He relates in another place, that the young *Clodomir* the ſon of *Clovis*, being killed in a battle with the *Burgundians*, was diſtinguiſhed from the heap of ſlain by the length of his treſſes. [*y*] It is ſaid, that the young *Clovis*, ſon of *Chilperic*, having been poniarded and thrown into the *Maine* by the barbarity of his ſtep-mother *Fredegonde*, his body was entangled in a fiſherman's net, who knew him to be of royal blood by the *length of his hair*.

Agatias, a cotemporary hiſtorian, ſays, "it is an eſtabliſhed cuſtom for the princes of *France* to let their hair grow from their infancy, without ever cutting it; they divide it from the middle of the forehead, letting it flow in graceful ringlets on their ſhoulders.—Their locks are regarded as a prerogative peculiar to the royal family." None beſides had the privilege of wearing the hair diſhevelled, but cut the hair ſhort round the head, except one lock on the crown, which was braided, and faſtened in a puff, that ſhaded the brow like an *aigrette*. *Sidonius Apollinarius* deſcribes it in this manner in his panegyrick on *Majorian*; as does *Martial* in an epigram upon *Domitian*.

Hic

[*u*] Commentators have exerciſed their penetration in an extraordinary manner concerning the word *Metioſedum*; ſome ſay it is *Corbeil*, others *Meudon*. I apprehend it a miſtake in the text, and that it ought to have been *Melodonum*, or *Melun*.

[*x*] The biſhoprick of Liege. I have read father *Daniel* on this article more than once, and am only more confirmed in my oppoſition to his argument.

[*y*] By the obſervations I ſhall make on this particular, it will appear that the epithet *long-haired* appertained to *Clodomir* no more than to other princes of the firſt line.

Hic quoque monſtra domas rutuli quibus arce cerebri,
Ad frontem coma tracta jacet nudataque cervia.
Setarum per damna nitet.

" You have ſubdued monſters with hair twiſted from the crown, turn-
" ing over the forehead, leaving the back part of the head deſtitute of
" covering."

Sid. Apol. Paneg. Carm. 47. Mart. Epig. L. 1ſt.

" *Crinibus in nodum tortis venere Sicambri.*"

" Behold the Sicambres who twiſt and tie their hair in knots."

Conquered nations, for inſtance the *Gauls*, when under ſubjection to *Rome*, wore their hair cut ſhort. It was the mark of a ſlave to have his crown ſhaven; and eccleſiaſtics to denote more ſtrongly their ſpiritual ſervitude, ſhaved the head entirely, leaving only a ſmall ſhade of hair round the temples. The cuſtom of ſwearing by their locks was then as ſacred an oath as honour is now. To cut off a man's hair was to degrade,—to diſhonour him. Perſons convicted of treaſon, were ſentenced to perform that diſgraceful ſeparation upon each other. *Fredegonde* cut off the hair of the miſtreſs of her ſon-in-law, and ordered it to be faſtened to the door of his apartment. The action appeared horrible! In ſaluting any one, it was eſteemed a great mark of politeneſs to draw out a hair, and preſent him with. *Clovis* [z] complimented St. Germier with this ceremonial, to ſhew how highly he honoured him, and immediately all the courtiers followed the royal example, preſenting each a hair to this pious biſhop, who returned to his dioceſe in raptures with the refined breeding of the court of *France!*

The opinion is erroneous, that cutting off the hair of a prince of the blood, reduced him to the neceſſity of becoming a prieſt or monk—— He might continue in the world, and even marry, but neither himſelf nor deſcendants were conſidered as members of the community; *long hair* being the diſtinguiſhing mark between the *Franks* and the conquered nations; to cut it off was a publick declaration, that the perſon from that moment became an alien, and was rendered incapable of ſucceeding to the royal dignity. This law which barred the ſucceſſion to him, who was no longer a citizen, has been in conſtant obſervation, from the commencement of the French monarchy to this day. Hugh Capet produced it in oppoſition to the claim of the duke of *Lower Lorraine* and his family. The duke of *Anjou*, *Henry* III. refuſed to accept the crown of *Poland*, which was offered him, till he had *letters patent* from his brother *Charles* IX. declaring him, *for ever a native of France*, though he

[z] This was inſtead of ſaying, " they were his moſt devoted ſervants." He whom ill-fortune made a ſlave cut off his hair, and preſented it to his maſter.

he reſided in a foreign country. And when *Philip* V. was called to the throne of *Spain*, he obtained the like aſſurances from *Louis* XIV. nor did he renounce them till he was in peaceable poſſeſſion of that crown; that is, till after the Duke of *Orleans*, then regent, had engaged the Emperor *Charles* VI. to give up his pretenſions to the *Spaniſh* monarchy. (Mem. of Torci.)

"The *Suevæ*, ſays *Tacitus*, are diſtinguiſhable from other *German* nations by the manner of twiſting their hair, and faſtening it in a knot upon the forehead. This is alſo with that people, the diſtinction betwixt freemen and ſlaves. Such as wear their hair in this faſhion, in other parts of Germany, either do it in imitation of the *Suevæ*, or are in alliance with them: nor do *theſe* continue it longer than the ſtate of infancy; whereas the *Suevæ*, during life, wear the hair turned from the top of the head towards the face, and twiſted into a puff.—Their princes are more nice and artful in the diſpoſition of their locks." I can't help thinking, that this paſſage, joined to thoſe in *Agathias*, and *Gregory of Tours*, plainly indicates who were the progenitors of the *Franks*. Parties of the *Suevæan* youth formed aſſociations, and quitted the banks of the *Elbe* and *Weſer* to ſeek their fortune in more diſtant countries. The *Suevæ* being originally from *Gaul*, [a] of courſe the *Franks*, in ſubduing that province, then in the hands of the Romans, only repoſſeſſed the territories of their anceſtors. De moribus Germ. c. 38.

Manners and Cuſtoms under the firſt Race of MONARCHS.

THE *French* enjoyed freedom and equality; honours and dignities created among them only a temporary ſubordination. They had chiefs and judges, without having ſuperiors. The *Gauls*, and other conquered nations were thoſe on whom taxes and tributes were levied; whilſt every *Frenchman* preſerved his perſon and wealth in unmoleſted independancy. The ſtate demanded only his faithful attachment and the valour of his arm.

Hiſtorians deſcribe this nation impetuous, paſſionate, ever ready to challenge its rights ſword in hand; but in other reſpects generous, beneficent

[a] *Ambigat*, king of the *Celtæ*, was contemporary with the firſt *Tarquin*, king of *Rome*. He reigned over the united countries of France and Flanders.

Bruges was the capital of his kingdom. His ſubjects multiplied ſo faſt, that the provinces were overrun with inhabitants; and the king publiſhed an edict, importing that *Sigovexe*, and *Bellovexe*, his ſiſter's ſons, intended to eſtabliſh colonies in ſuch countries as the Gods and the Augurs pointed out. Three hundred thouſand perſons followed theſe princes, about 600 years before *Chriſt*; *Bellovexe* gained the paſſage of the *Alpes*, and eſtabliſhed his people along the banks of the *Po*. *Sigovexe* croſſing the foreſt of *Hercinia*, entered *Bohemia*, left part of his forces there, and with the remainder terminated his courſe between the *Elbe* and the *Weſer*, on the borders of the ſea. Some writers are of opinion, that the *Semnones*, of whom *Tacitus* ſpeaks as the moſt powerful tribe of the Suavæ, were deſcended from the Senones, or natives of Sens, now the Saxons.

neficent, and of ſo ſtrict probity, as to ſacrifice to its rules even their adored liberty. A man incapable to ſatisfy his creditors, offered him a pair of ſciſſars, and became his bondſman, by the ceremony of cutting off his hair. Decorum has long ſince aboliſhed theſe obſolete and ridiculous notions of probity.——What an indecency would it be to ſee a duke meaſuring cloth, or ſweeping the ſhop of a mechanic!

The *French* generally eat their meals in an open hall, inviting paſſengers, particularly ſtrangers, to ſhare in their repaſts, which were leſs delicate than ſubſtantial; conſiſting of whole quarters of roaſted beef or pork. They drank freely, and ſpoke very unreſervedly on the conduct of their governors; but no man was allowed the privilege of railing at the fair ſex. All crimes, but treaſon againſt the ſtate, were capable of expiation, by pecuniary fines. Whoever declined appearing to revenge the death of a father, or any [*b*] near relation, was excluded from a ſhare of his inheritance. The legal method conſiſted in a citation of the murderer before the judge, and declaring aloud their reſolution to perſecute him at all times, and in all places, with fire and ſword. The judge and reciprocal friends of both parties endeavoured to ſoften their reſentment, and diſpoſe them to what they called a *compoſition*. This was a fine the murderer conſented to pay; two hundred *ſols* for the life of a *Frenchman*, and half the ſum for that of a *Gallic* or *Roman* freeman.

The thief who ſtole a ſporting dog, was forced to run three times round a public market, kiſſing the dog's tail. If a hawk was the theft, he was ſentenced to pay eight crowns of gold, or ſuffer the bird to devour five ounces of his fleſh from a part which the reader may gueſs.

Before the eſtabliſhment of chriſtianity, the nation made choice of ſome plain which victory had immortalized, for the interment of its kings and generals. They erected over them with ſtones, ſand, and turf, a kind of mount, thirty or forty feet high. Several of theſe tombs are yet remaining in *France*, and the biſhoprick of *Liege*. *Childeric*, the father of *Clovis*, was buried on the banks of the *Eſcant*, near *Tournay*; a ſpot ſince encloſed within the walls of the city. His tomb was diſcovered in 1653; and in a decayed leather purſe were found above a hundred gold coins, and twice as many ſilver, of different emperors; alſo buckles, claſps, threads of raiment; the hilt and ſcabbard of a ſword; tablettes, with gold pencils and claſps. The head of an ox, [*c*] and above three

[*b*] The duke of *Sandraguſille* was aſſaſſinated. His children were ſummoned by the nobles of the kingdom, and on their neglecting to revenge his death, were deprived of the ſucceſſion.

[*c*] Suppoſed to be the idol he worſhipped.

three hundred ſmall bees [*d*] of the ſame metal; with the bones of a horſe, and a ſhoe, a bit, and other parts of a harneſs. There was beſides, a cryſtal globe, a battle-axe, and the entire ſkeleton of a man. Near was a ſmall ſcull, which ſeemed to be that of a younger man, probably his ſquire, who, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, accompanied his maſter to the other world. A gold ring was likewiſe found, inſcribed *Childerici Regis*, with an intaglio of that prince, a javelin in his hand, inſtead of a ſceptre; his hair flowing in long ringlets on his ſhoulders. It is obſervable how attentive they were to ſupply the deceaſed monarch with cloaths, arms, money, a horſe, a domeſtick, materials for writing, and, in ſhort, whatever they imagined uſeful to him in another ſtate. Even now, when death robs us of our kings, their table is regularly covered for forty days;—the wine and water taſted, and every diſh ſerved on the knee as if they were ſtill living!

The fair Auſtrigildi obtained her laſt requeſt of her huſband Gontran, that two phyſicians, whoſe preſcriptions ſhe had followed in her illneſs, ſhould be buried with her! I believe there is no other inſtance of a royal interment granted to the faculty, though I make no doubt ſeveral have merited equal honours with theſe gentlemen!

Sordid avarice had not yet induced the miniſters of God to pave his temples with dead bodies! St. *Gregory* the Great, cotemporary with the grandſon of *Clovis*, in the permiſſions he granted for erecting churches, expreſſly adds this clauſe, "That they have poſitive aſſurances no corpſe had ever been buried in that ſpot of ground." The council of *Nantes*, in 656, allowed of interment in the veſtibule and places adjacent to churches, but prohibited it within the walls, or near the altar. Under the firſt and ſecond *race* of kings, they did not bury even within the bounds of *Paris*. "*Goſlin*, who was biſhop there, and died at the time the city was inveſted by the *Normans*, was interred, ſays the *Monk of St. Vaaſt*, within the walls, contrary to eſtabliſhed cuſtom; either from the difficulty of conveying him out of the gates, or a deſire of concealing his death from the enemy." Perſons of fortune had their cimetarys in the neighbourhood of towns and villages, and the cuſtom of putting into the ground attire, arms, hawks, and ſome valuable ornament belonging to the deceaſed, ſubſiſted many ages. A conſtant watch was kept at theſe family ſepulchres. At the acceſſion

[*d*] They had probably been ſewed on the field of his coat of arms. Bees are ſaid to be the original ſymbol of the firſt monarchs of *France*; and when the faſhion of atchievements was introduced by the third race, theſe ill-engraved bees, on old monuments, were miſtaken for fleur *de lys*.

of the ſecond *royal houſe*, more than two thirds of the nation were enveloped in the darkneſs of idolatry. A univerſal belief prevailed, that certain female *Druids*, by force of abſtracted meditation, had obtained a deep inſight into the ſecrets of nature: that theſe, by virtue of good works, had merited immortality, and inhabited ſprings, torrents, or caverns, with an extenſive power † of granting their favourites the privilege to metamorphoſe themſelves into wolves, or any other kind of animals. On the friendſhip or hatred of theſe *Druideſſes* depended the happineſs or miſery of families; for which reaſon, on ſelect days of the year, and particularly at the birth of a child, the relations were very careful to ſpread a table of three covers, in ſome remote apartment, and furniſh it with the moſt exquiſite diſhes, and wines, beſides little preſents in an elegant taſte, hoping, by ſuch preparations, to induce the *Mothers*, as theſe ſubaltern beings were ſtyled, to honour them with a viſit, and lend a favourable ear to their petitions. Here is the origin of our tales of the fairies!

Perſuaded of the omnipreſence of the Gods, they had no idea of building them temples, imagining their divinity occupied the ſpace of vaſt foreſts, and was imprinted on the knotted, moſs-grown trunks of ancient oaks. They did not approach without trembling thoſe woods ſet apart for the celebration of divine myſteries. Impreſſed by the ſilence and obſcurity that reigned in theſe awful places, they experienced a fearful and religious kind of horror, which was regarded as an effect of the preſence of the Deity they came to worſhip, and whoſe viſibility they dreaded at every ſtep. To teſtify their dependance on his will, they entered * bound into theſe foreſts; and if they chanced to fall, were not ſuffered to riſe, but obliged to creep on their knees, or roll along, whilſt they remained on holy ground. One may conceive how men penetrated with ſo high veneration for places ſacred to the Gods, muſt be ſcandalized at ſeeing the Chriſtians enter armed into churches, ſaluting and converſing with each other; varying their poſture and attitude, as they would do in an amphitheatre. But if the eccleſiaſticks of thoſe days omitted to repreſs ſuch indecencies with proper ſeverity, they were however ſcrupulouſly attentive in the exaction of the reverence due to their own perſons. A decree of the council of *Macon* ordains, "Whatever [*a*] *laiek* meets a prieſt or "deacon on the road ſhall offer him his arm for a ſupport: that if "the

† This privilege was ſtyled *Werwolff* at the end of the tenth century.

* Nemo niſi vinculo ligatus ingreditur.

[*a*] Cum intertot ſanctos Patres Epiſcopos quidam ſtatuerit non poſſe nec debere mulieres vocari homines: timore Dei publice ibi ventilaretur & tandem.

" the *laick* and prieſt are both on horſeback, the laick ſhall ſtop and " reſpectfully ſalute the prieſt; and, finally, ſhould the prieſt be " walking, and the *laick* riding, the latter is to diſmount till the ec- " cleſiaſtick is at a proper diſtance. All this to be performed under " penalty of interdiction during the biſhop's pleaſure."

In this very council a biſhop advanced, that titles of honour neither could nor ought to be granted to the wives of mortal men. This queſtion was debated at ſeveral ſittings, and the controverſy run high; opinions were divided, but at length the defenders of the fair ſex were victorious. A reſolution of council pronounced with the utmoſt ſolemnity, allowed women to be included in the rights of the human ſpecies; and I fancy the world would have been unanimous in this belief, though it had wanted the confirmation of an œcumenical council. Biſhops were indiſpenſably obliged to relieve the indigent, comfort the priſoners, and redeem chriſtian captives, which augmented their credit in general, and the wealth of ſome in particular. The ambaſſadors of charity are privileged to demand benefactions, and—to treaſure them up! Greg Turonius, L. 8. p. 20.

The church had no inconſiderable ſhare in the fortunate ſucceſs of *Clovis*, by ſecretly engaging the cities to revolt againſt Gondebaud, king of *Burgundy*, and ſubmit to the *French*. *Clovis* was only a Pagan, but *Gondebaud* a heretick, infected with Ananiſm! Marriage was no obſtacle to the higheſt eccleſiaſtical promotions. A man had nothing to do but make a formal declaration that he intended for the future to live with his wife as if ſhe was his ſiſter! his ſon commonly obtained a reverſion of the biſhoprick. To eſpouſe the forſaken wife of him who entered into holy orders was not permitted. Ibid.

The council of *Orleans*, held towards the end of Clovis's reign, in its 16th canon prohibits all ſeculars from taking the ſacerdotal habit, unleſs with the permiſſion of the king or judge. *Charlemagne*, in his renewal of this prohibition in his Capitularies, explains the motive for it in theſe words; " leſt the king's ſervice ſhould ſuffer by ſuch indulgence." Ne regule obſequium minuatur.

Pre-eminence in beauty, rather than birth, or political advantages, entitled a lady to the expectation of a throne. Beſides the cuſtom of temporary miſtreſſes, monarchs allowed themſelves a plurality of wives. " Dear prince, ſaid Ingonde, one day to her huſband *Clolarius*, I have " a ſiſter who is very dear to me; her name is Arregonde; ſhe lives in " the country; I hope you will take care of her fortune, and beſtow " her honourably in marriage." *Clotarius* paid a viſit to *Arregonde* at

her country ſeat; found her pretty, and married her. Some time after he returned to Ingonde, and acquainted her that as he could not think of a more honourable match for her ſiſter than himſelf, he had eſpouſed her, and, for the future, Arregonde ſhould be her inſeparable companion.

The ſalvation and damnation of princes were ſuppoſed to depend on their good or evil conduct towards the monks. It was an eſtabliſhed maxim, that to ſecure a ſeat in Paradiſe, all anxiety was ſuperfluous, if a man could but make a good friend in a monaſtery; and that the moſt flagrant inſtances of injuſtice, and crimes of the greateſt enormity might be compounded for by donations in favour of the church.

Mezeray.

The author of anecdotes of Dagobert relates, "That after death "ſentence was paſſed on him by divine juſtice; and that a holy her-"mit, whoſe name was John, and who lived on the borders of the "Italian ſea, beheld his ſoul chained down in a bark, under the laſh "of devils, who were conducting him to Sicily, where he was to be "plunged within the bowels of Mount Etna. But the unexpected "appearance of St. Dennis, in a luminous globe, encompaſſed with "thunder and lightning, put theſe malignant demons to flight, and "delivered the miſerable ſoul from their envenomed claws, con-"veying him in triumph to the regions of the bleſſed." There was an hiſtorical painting in freſco of this adventure of King Dagobert's at the back of his monument, in the magnificent church erected and dedicated by that prince to his holy protector.

Geſta Dagob. Regis, c. 44.

Abderames, deputy of the Caliph of *Damas*, after the conqueſt of *Spain*, ſurmounted the difficulty of paſſing the *Pyrennées*, and advanced towards Tours at the head of 400,000 *Saracens*. The active valour and prudence of *Charles Martel* gained ſo compleat a victory over this formidable army, that the writers of thoſe times ſay, there hardly eſcaped 25000. Had not this brave man ſtemmed the impetuous torrent, we might perhaps have ſeen turbants as univerſal a faſhion in *France* as in Aſia. How greatly is poſterity indebted to his memory! To ſecure the obedience of his troops by regular pay, he was obliged to have recourſe to the wealth he found in monaſteries; he even diſpoſed of abbeys richly endowed, to thoſe officers who ſerved him beſt.

P. Daniel. l. 1. p. 347. Mezeray.

The church thundered Anathemas againſt him. *They damned him body and ſoul*, and to ſet his perdition in the moſt ignominious light, purſuant to the groſs abſurdities of that age, we are told in the life of St. *Eucharius*, "That the Saint being at his oraiſons in a ſpiritual "rapture, was led by an angel into hell; where he ſaw *Charles* "*Martel*,

" *Martel*; and learned from his conductor, that the ſaints whoſe churches " had been pillaged by that prince, condemned him to burn everlaſt- " ingly." The hiſtorian adds, " That St. Eucharius communicated " this revelation to Boniface, biſhop of Mayenne, and to Fuldrad, " arch-chaplain to Pepin *the Short*, entreating them to open Charles " Martel's tomb, and examine whether his body was there. They " did ſo; the bottom of it appeared burnt, and nothing was to be ſeen " but a monſtrous ſerpent, who quitted it, leaving an intolerable ſtench " behind him." *Boniface* was careful to write *Pepin* and *Carloman* all theſe circumſtantial proofs of their father's damnation. In the year 858, Louis of Germany appropriating to himſelf ſome eccleſiaſtical revenues, the biſhops aſſembled at *Ciecy*, reminded him in a letter of all the particulars of this terrible ſtory; adding, that it was ſanctified by the teſtimony of ancient churchmen, of unqueſtionable veracity, who were ocular witneſſes of their truth.

I ſhall conclude this enumeration of the manners and cuſtoms that prevailed in the time of the *firſt race of kings*, by obſerving that the ferocious, perfidious, and barbarous behaviour of *Clovis*, and the greater part of his deſcendants ought not to prejudice us againſt the general character of the *French* nation during that period. Perhaps I may be ſingular in my way of thinking, but I believe it almoſt impoſſible there could have been a good king in a monarchy compoſed, as France then was, of a conquered nation, and of one abſolutely free. The French nobles in poſſeſſion of independency knew how to enjoy it, and therefore avoided the court. The king was conſtrained to chuſe freed men for his favourites, ſlaves for his confidents, and Gauls for his counſellors, whoſe ſole view was their own aggrandizement, and whoſe abject, unprincipled ſouls, devoted to the caprice of their idol, approved the wildeſt ſallies of his rage, and ſedulouſly flattered his ungovernable paſſions.

Of Faſhions, Cuſtoms, and Manners, under the ſecond Race of MONARCHS.

IN their enterprize againſt Gaul, it does not appear that the *French* had any farther plan than to exchange the gloom of their foreſts for provinces enriched by natural fertility and cultivation with the gifts of plenty, where they might enjoy a larger ſhare of the bleſſings of life. If the eſtabliſhment of an empire had been the object of their ambition, they would certainly have enacted a law, in the firſt aſſemblies held in the field of *Mars*, that the monarchy ſhould be indiviſible and hereditary in the elder branch of the royal family; and that the eſtates of the younger ſhould be dependant on the crown, and revertible to it in failure

failure of heirs male. On the contrary, we ſee the four ſons of Clovis dividing his conqueſts into four kingdoms; and this fatal partition, beſides weakening the general ſtrength of the nation, unavoidably became an inexhauſtible ſource of reſpective pretenſions among theſe princes and their ſucceſſors, as well as of diſtruſt, animoſity, and civil war, nouriſhed by ambitious jealouſy.

The ſame cauſe was productive of the ſame calamities under the *ſecond race*. Maſters of Europe in the reign of Charlemagne, the French ſuddenly beheld the evaneſcence of their glory and grandeur in the partition of the dominions of Louis *the Debonair* amongſt his three children. "Such a partition, ſays *Mezeray*, to three brothers equal in power, diſunited the inhabitants of Gaul from thoſe of Germany and Italy, when they were juſt beginning to conſolidate in one political body." France exhauſted of ſoldiers by the diſſenſions of theſe princes, became an eaſy prey to the devaſtations of the Normans.

The popes were indebted to *Charlemagne* for all their temporal riches; but how frequently does it happen, that the prieſthood believe their gratitude is circumſcribed to the Supreme Being alone! They took advantage of theſe domeſtick troubles, to forge fetters for their emperors; and, in the boſom of diſcord, they choſe to invent thoſe *Bulls of excommunication*, which the ſuperſtition and ignorance of the age rendered ſo tremendous.

Princes of the *firſt race*, on their acceſſion to the throne, were preſented with the *angon*, or battle axe of their predeceſſors: they were then enthroned upon a ſhield, or, in other words, the ſoldiers carried them, thus ſeated, round the camp upon their ſhoulders: ſuch was the noble ſimplicity of the inauguration of our firſt monarchs. Never did it enter the imagination of thoſe perſons who preſented the [*f*] *angon*, or of the ſoldiers who carried him in proceſſion, that they had acquired by thoſe ceremonies a right to dethrone their monarch. [*g*] St. Boniface, archbiſhop of *Mayence*, and legate from the papal ſee, perſuaded *Philip the Short*, the firſt monarch who was crowned, that by the ceremony of anointing with holy oil, after the example of the kings of Iſrael, he would render his perſon more auguſt,—his power more reſpectable;

[*f*] A kind of javelin, whoſe head reſembled a flower *de lys*, the middle iron was ſtrait, pointed and ſharp; the two ſide ones were bent ſemicircularly. In all probability, this was at firſt intended as an ornament to the crown and ſceptre; but our kings afterwards choſe it for the royal arms, from a miſtake, in fancying it the repreſentation of a flower *de lys*.

[*g*] On every occaſion, ſays Mezeray, he ſtrove to magnify the pope's ſupremacy, to whom he was entirely devoted. Some authors ſay, that this very Boniface denounced the papal ſentence againſt the prieſt Virgil, who was excommunicated as a heretick for aſſerting there were Antipodes.

ſpectable;—and that ſo far from being regarded as a uſurper, his election to the throne would be conſidered as the decree of heaven. The introduction of this till then unpractiſed ceremony was the ſeed of that arrogant and wild infatuation, which led eccleſiaſtical power to make ſo many incroaching uſurpations on temporal authority. As the biſhops affected to act by divine appointment, in placing the crown on the head of their ſovereign, they claimed the ſame right to deſpoil, condemn, and depoſe him. Thoſe humble paſtors, modeſtly ſeated in council, on wooden ſtools, with tapers in their hands, no longer exiſted. In their place, beings of a ſuperior order appeared, armed with thunder, mounted on ſtorms and tempeſts, which at their command ravaged the earth! Beings, who fancied their glory exalted above the heavens,—who haughtily trampled ſceptres under their feet, wantonly diſtributing or withdrawing them at pleaſure.

By their *divine right* they pronounced the emperor Lotharius unentitled to a ſhare of the ſucceſſion of his anceſtors; beſtowing on his two younger brothers all thoſe countries beyond the mountains that appertain to the emperor. They had forgot the example of their maſter Chriſt, who when ſolicited to determine a diſputable inheritance between two brothers, replied, "*Who made me a judge or divider among you.*" *St. Luke, c. 12. v. 14.* Does it not appear incredible, that Venilon, archbiſhop of Sens, ſhould have the preſumption to excommunicate and depoſe Charles *the Bald!* or would one ſuppoſe a monarch ſhould debaſe himſelf ſo low as to publiſh ſuch a manifeſto as *Charles's* againſt that rebel? "The prelate, ſays the king, ought to have allowed me time to appear before the convocation of biſhops, who "conſecrated me, and whoſe [*b*] deciſions I ſhould have been ſubmiſſive to; having ever paid implicit obedience to their will. They "are the thrones of God, and by their mouth he pronounces his "decrees."

It was impoſſible that a prince who acknowledged himſelf an inſignificant cypher in the hands of the clergy, who ſome years after received the imperial crown as a donation from the holy ſee, and who condeſcended to accept the title of Counſellor of State to the Pope, ſhould not appear in the eyes of the French nobility as a frivolous, ridiculous ſhadow of an emperor, to whom they were aſhamed to acknowledge allegiance. They reſpect the character of royalty, even in a wicked monarch, if he does not ſink into contempt; but it is always repugnant to their nature to ſubmit to a maſter whoſe voluntary puſilanimity

[*b*] Quæ non [illegible]

nimity renders him deſpicable. Under the pretext of repairing their eſtates, injured by the Norman depredations, the chief employment of the nobles was to fortify themſeves in their caſtles. Moſt of the provincial governors uſurped an hereditary claim over thoſe provinces granted them for life; whilſt the houſe of Charlemagne, involved in troubles and diſſenſions, gradually declined, and held the ſceptre with a weak and trembling hand.

Other CAUSES *of this* DECLENSION.

THE *Franks*, whom *Pharamond* conducted to the conqueſt of *Gaul*, were a colony inhabiting the country between the *Elbe* and *Weſer*; and our kings of the *firſt race* gloried in tracing their genealogy from the ſame ſource with the *Saxon* princes, the moſt warlike nation in that part of the globe. *Charlemagne* undertook to bring them under his yoke, and the war laſted above thirty years. Trampled under the wheels of the conqueror's chariot, after the moſt bloody engagements, they ſeemed for a time to have loſt their wonted ferocity; but ſoon recovering it, they ſhook with rage at the weight of their fetters, and attempted to rekindle the war. *Charlemagne* ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded that it was impoſſible to bend the ſtubbornneſs of their ſpirit by any other method, than forcing them to embrace chriſtianity. He therefore publiſhed an edict, "That every *Saxon* who refuſed to be baptized, or, for the future, eat fleſh during Lent, ſhould be put to death." With the point of the ſword they engraved the precepts of the God of peace! In places yet reeking with the blood of their countrymen, they conſtrained the *Saxons* to receive the ſacrament of baptiſm! Their obſtinate perſeverance in the errors of Paganiſm, and repeated revolts merited (ſay ſome writers) all the misfortunes and cruel treatment inflicted by their enemies. Can theſe writers ſuppoſe it an eaſy thing for a people to change their religion? or that the Almighty is pleaſed that force and violence ſhould be the inſtruments of extending his worſhip? Will they dare to brand with the name of rebel, the brave *Witikind* who defended the liberties of his country? or to the *Saxons*, who are not to be confounded with the nations near the *Rhine* that ſubmitted to the arms of *Charles Martel* and *Pepin*. The *Saxons*, I ſay,—a nation of free-born men,—were they rebels? or ought they to be deemed criminal for bluſhing at the ſervitude impoſed on them by a foreign power?

Capitulary, ann. 780.

Several families of theſe unfortunate people fled for refuge to *Denmark* and *Norway*; ſpreading through thoſe kingdoms horror and deteſtation

tion for the Chriſtian religion, and the name of *Frenchman!* There is a ſtory that *Charlemagne*, perceiving from the windows of a caſtle which overlooked the ſea, a fleet of *Normans*, who were then preparing for a deſcent upon our coaſts, ſaid, with tears in his eyes, If they have the temerity to threaten my kingdoms with an invaſion whilſt I yet live, what will they do when I am no more! A fatal pre-ſentiment, but too well confirmed, when the diviſions and civil wars, with which France was torn in pieces, during the reigns of his deſcendants, facilitated to her implacable enemies the means of penetrating on all ſides into the heart of that kingdom. [*i*] Perpetually expoſed to the ravages of the *Normans* for fourſcore years, the conflagration of one province was the ſignal of their arrival to another. The lands were no longer cultivated: the huſbandmen concealed themſelves in caverns, which they hollowed in the midſt of foreſts. Devaſtation reigned in all its terrors, as if the eternal arbiter of the deſtiny of kings and empires had ſpoken from the heighth of his throne: "The Saxons, on whom *France* has waged an unjuſt and cruel war ſhall cover her with the ſame wounds that ſhe plunged into the bowels of their country! I will reject—I will extinguiſh the race of *Charlemagne*;—its grandeur and ſplendour ſhall paſs away like a ſhadow—and I will reſtore the deſcendants of *Witikind* to the inheritance of the princes of their blood!"

That generous defender of the poor remains of Germany, after near ſeventeen years experience, that all the efforts of his courage ſerved only to complete the misfortunes of the people he commanded, at length determined to ſwear fealty to *Charlemagne*. The converſations he entered into with ſome of the biſhops enlightened his underſtanding: he was baptized, and lived afterwards in ſo exemplary a manner, that at his death he was enrolled among the ſaints, being killed in 807 [*k*] by Geroldus, duke of *Suabia*. His poſterity, ſays *Paſquier*, became eſtabliſhed in *France*, and was deſtined to terminate, and put an everlaſting period to that of *Charlemagne*.

[*i*] Their veſſels were made of willow or osier ſtakes, covered with bull-hides. They were called *Normans* or men from the *North*: *Mermans*, or men from the ſea; from the Celtic and Britiſh words, Mer and Man. *Sidonius Apollinarius*, who wrote in the time of *Mervuée* and *Childeric*, ſays, "The ſhipwrecks to which they are liable, appear to the Saxons inconveniencies but not obſtacles. So exact and preciſe is their knowledge of all the rocks and ſand-banks, that one would think to attain it, they muſt have beheld the ſea dry! The dreadfulleſt tempeſt only augments their hope, and they congratulate their good fortune, whilſt they wreſtle with the furious billows, that heaven grants them ſo proſperous a ſeaſon, by removing all apprehenſions of a deſcent from the inhabitants of thoſe provinces they intend to ſurpriſe and pillage."

[*k*] Probably he was born about the year 720, and might then be about 62 years of age, and his ſon Robert 43.

Witikind left two ſons, ſome writers mention four, *Thierri*, *Witikind*, *Immer*, and *Reginben*. The empreſs *Hildégarde*, wife of *Charlemagne*, and daughter of the duke of *Suevæ*, was their couſin-german. *Thierri* ſucceeded his father in the government of *Saxony*. *Witikind*, baptized by the name of *Robert*, reſided in *France*, and was father to *Robert*, *ſirnamed The Strong*, earl of *Anjou*, and marquis of *France*, who was grandfather to *Hugh Capet*. It appears by an old charter in the abbey of St. *Martin de Tours*, dated 863, that *Charles the Bald* gave this abbey to *Robert*, *earl of Anjou*, *of the Saxon race*, *and ſon of* R. an abbreviation, which ſome have made *Robert*, others *Richard*. The *Abbé d'Urſperg*, and an ancient chronicle cited by *Fauchet*, a very exact writer, ſay that *Robert the Strong* was the ſon of *Witikind*. It is alſo recorded, that *Charles the Bald* gave the command of his army againſt *Brittany* to *Witikind*, *and his ſon Robert*. *Aimoin*, a writer in the reign of Robert, ſon of *Hugh Capet*, aſſures us, that *Robert the Strong* was of *Saxon* [*k*] lineage. "The monarchy reverted, ſays a hiſtorian, [*l*] contemporary with Louis VIII. from the family of [*m*] *Charlemagne* to that of the earls of *Paris*, who were of *Saxon* origin." *Alberic*, who wrote about the year 1240, and ſeems to have applied himſelf to the ſtudy and ſearch of ancient genealogies, traces the deſcent of *Robert the Strong* from *Witikind*.—To theſe authorities I ſhall add ſome reflections, which ſeem to ariſe from the ſubject, though they have hitherto eſcaped obſervation.

Ponte Heuteri in etim. verb. Germ. P. 228.

In *Pontus Heuterius*'s etymology, it appears that *Robert* is a *German* name. A name unknown in France under the kings of the *firſt race*; and in the time of the *ſecond*, till the reign of *Charles the Bald*. Whereas in *Germany* we hear of a Robert, chief of the *Allemagnes*, who contracted an alliance with *Dagobert* I. and defeated the *Sclavonians* in 630. Another *Robert*, born at *Worms*, cotemporary with *Charles Martel*, is an entitled prince of the blood royal, and biſhop of that city. He preached the goſpel in *Germany*, converted *Theodore*, duke of *Bavaria*, and founded a monaſtery at *Jevane*, now *Saltſbourg*. Undoubtedly many of the anceſtors of *Robert the Strong* had borne the ſame name, as being common to his family, as thoſe of Charles and Pepin

Geſta Dagob. c. 1. n. 27. Rerum Gallici Scrip. T. 2. P. 587. Mabillon.

[*k*] *Robertus* Andegavenſis comes, Saxonici generis vir.

[*l*] Regnum tranſlatum eſt de genealogia Carolorum in progenieri comities Pariſienſium, qui de genere Saxonum proceſſerunt. (Anonymous.)

[*m*] Clovis incorporated all the tribes of France, ſuch as the Saliens, Sicambres, Cattes, under his dominions, after maſſacreing their kings, who were derived from the ſame ſtock with that monarch. Part of the brothers, ſons, and nephews of theſe unhappy princes, ſheltered themſelves in their ancient country with the kings of Suevæ and Saxony, their relations.

Pepin were to that of *Charlemagne*. Let us likewiſe conſider, that as his anceſtors muſt have been men of very high rank, it would be ſtrange never to find the name of Robert in the time of the *firſt race*, nor till ſome time after the beginning of the *ſecond*; had they been natives of France, and reſiding there!

Should it be advanced, that *Robert the Strong* was the firſt of his family ſo named, I ſhould be glad to be informed why a foreign name ſhould be adopted — a name, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, anti-national? As *Witikind*, the younger, took the name of *Robert*, when he embraced Chriſtianity: and I have obſerved both the *Saxon* and *Daniſh* nobility baptized in France, generally made choice of it, ſurely the ſuppoſition is not improbable that attributes this partiality to a veneration for the memory of *St. Robert*, a prince of the blood, who preached the goſpel amongſt them. The territory of Neuſtria, granted, according to tradition, by the emperor *Charlemagne* to *Witikind the Younger*, was the birth-place of *Robert the Strong*; and of his two ſons, king Eudes and Robert. In a poem on the election of Eudes to the throne, *Abbon* takes notice, that "*Neuſtria* may congratulate and honour herſelf for giving them birth:" and again he emphatically repeats, with the adulation of a poet, who was himſelf a *Neuſtrian*, "*Neuſtria!* the moſt illuſtrious country in the univerſe! the mother of puiſſant heroes! *Genetrix procerum vaſtè dominantum*, &c."

M. *Le Gendre de St. Aubin* has given a long diſſertation to prove *Robert the Strong* deſcended from *Childebrand*, king of *Lombardy*, who was driven from his throne by *Rachis* in 744, and took refuge in *France*. His opinion is founded on a paſſage in Helgaud: "King *Robert*, ſon of *Hugh Capet humbly acknowledged, (humillimis aſſerabit verbis)* the original of his family was *Italian*." In the firſt place, the authority of this paſſage is very doubtful; and, in the ſecond, it overturns the opinion that M. le Gendre is endeavouring to eſtabliſh: for where is the humility of king *Robert*'s owning himſelf deſcended from a king of Lombardy? M. le Gendre, to ſupport his argument, is under the neceſſity of tranſlating the word *Germanus, brother-in-law*, whereas it has always been conſtrued *brother*. Other genealogiſts trace the lineage of *Robert* from another *Childebrand*, brother to *Charles Martel*, and great uncle to *Charlemagne*; an opinion not better founded than the preceding, that has been already refuted by ſolid arguments, which I ſhall not now repeat. One obſervation more I ſhall beg leave to inſert, that the diſtinction of *third race* had been an abſurdity, if the crown had continued in the ſame family.

Neither could *Foulques*, archbiſhop of *Rheims*, and the chief members of that aſſembly where the *election* of *Eudes*, ſon of *Robert the Strong* was debated, have made uſe of ſuch expreſſions, as "*We cannot conſent to his election, becauſe he is not of the royal blood of Charlemagne.*" "*Ab ſtirpe Regia exiſtens alienus.*" *Foulques* wrote his reaſons alſo to the emperor *Arnoul*, who intereſted himſelf in the ſucceſs of *Eudes*, and certainly they could not have impoſed on him, in regard to what prince was or was not of the family of *Charlemagne*. [n] Another circumſtance may be conſidered, that there is little probability the nobles who nominated *Eudes* in this aſſembly, would have ventured an election in his favour, if they had not been certain of his origin, and regarded him as ſprung from the ſame root with *Pharamond*, *Clodion*, and *Meroude*; thoſe heroes who firſt led the French to the conqueſt of Gaul.

The different diſpenſations of Providence ſeem alſo to have ſtrongly marked a diſtinction between the two royal families; that of *Robert the Strong*, even excluſively of the reigns of Eudes and his ſon *Robert*, filled the throne from heir male to heir male, for near eight hundred years; a ſingular * epocha in the hiſtory of monarchies! (Aſtronom. 319.) The poſterity of *Charlemagne*, on the contrary, became extinct both in *Germany* and *Italy*, in the third generation, and of his deſcendants who reigned in *France*, not one died a natural death. A circumſtance that I am aſtoniſhed ſhould eſcape the obſervation of hiſtorians.

* Hugh Capet was crowned in 987.

Annal. Bertin.

Grief and voluntary abſtinence terminated the deplorable days of *Louis the Debonair*, in a little iſland on the *Rhine*.—*Charles the Bald* was poiſoned in a cottage at the foot of Mount *Cenis*, by the Jew *Sedecias*, his phyſician. His children, by a ſecond marriage, died in their infancy. Thoſe by the firſt were *Louis*, *Charles*, *Lotharius*, *Carloman* and *Judith*. By his father's cruelty, *Carloman* was deprived of ſight, Louis the Stammerer ſucceeded to the throne, and was poiſoned. —*Charles*, king of *Aquitaine*, returning one evening from hunting in the foreſt of Guiſe, near *Compeigne*, by way of ſport, attacked a nobleman travelling the ſame road; who, not knowing his majeſty, gave him ſeveral violent cuts on the head, which proved mortal. *Judith*, with her free conſent, was carried off by the *Foreſter of Flanders*. The *Stammerer* was ſuccceded by *Louis* III. This monarch, infatuated with the beauty of a young girl, daughter of one *Germond*, a citizen, purſued

Le Gendre.

[n] That the kings of France of the firſt race, were deſcended from the ſame family as the Suave and Saxon monarchs is a certain fact: Eudes, a deſcendant of Witikind, was conſequently of the ſame extraction.

ſued her under a low gateway, where ſhe fled for ſhelter, with ſuch impetuoſity, that he was thrown from his horſe and broke his back. His brother *Carloman* was accidentally wounded in the foreſt of * *Baizieux*, by an attendant whoſe name was *Berthold*, and died the ſeventh day: he had the generoſity to affirm he received the wound from a boar, apprehenſive, that after his death, this unſkilful archer might be puniſhed for his miſtake. In *Charles the Fat* the whole dominions of *Charlemagne* centered, but his ſcandalous treaty with the Normans, and his unmanly ſubmiſſion to the prieſts, rendered him ſo deſpicable, that his ſubjects depoſed him; and this monarch, who a few days before had ſo many millions of men under his command, was totally deſerted even to a ſingle domeſtick. Hiſtorians even aſſert, "he ſent to the archbiſhop of *Mayence* to aſk for bread." *Arnould* the Baſtard, his nephew, who artfully carried the royal election in his favour, aſſigned *Charles* the village of *Nidenguen* for his ſupport, where he was privately ſtrangled ſome months after. *Charles the Simple*, betrayed by the treachery of *Herbert*, count de *Vermandois*, died of ſorrow and deſpair in the priſon of *Péronne*. *Louis* IV. according to *d'Outremer*, was killed by a fall from his horſe, as he was croſſing the road to *Rheims*, in chace of a wolf. *Lotharius*, and his ſon *Louis* V. the laſt monarchs of that race, were poiſoned by their wives, ladies of ſingular gallantry, with whom they lived on bad terms. *Charles*, duke of *Lower Lorraine*, brother to *Lotharius*, and the only ſurviving branch of the houſe of Charlemagne, died a priſoner [o] in the great tower of *Orleans*, 993, leaving three ſons, [p] *Otho*, *Louis*, and *Charles*, who all died young without heirs. His daughters *Hermengarde*, and *Gerberge*, were married, the one to *Albert*, earl of *Namur*, the other to *Lambert*, earl of *Hainault*.

* About nine leagues from Amiens.

Ducheſne, T. I. p. 632.

Continuation of MANNERS *and* CUSTOMS *under the* SECOND RACE.

CHARLEMAGNE eſteemed it his glory to be deſcended from the *Franks*. He affected to dreſs like them, wearing his cloaths ſhort and cloſe to his ſhape. He was enraged to ſee a Frenchman in long robes like a *Gaul*. "Obſerve thoſe Frenchmen! thoſe "Frenchmen,

[o] The dutchy of Lower *Lorraine* comprehended *Brabant*, *Luxembourg*, the biſhoprick of *Liege*, the provinces of *Gueldres*, *Clewes*, *Juliers*, and others towards the mouth of the *Rhine*, the *Maeze*, and the *Eſcaut*.

[p] *Otho* died 1006, after reigning over Lower *Lorraine* 43 years. He ſurvived his brothers, and on his deceaſe his ſiſters claimed the dutchy, and commenced a war with *Godfrey* of *Ardenne*, to whom the emperor had bequeathed it. They came to an accommodation; Godfrey allowed them a large ſum of money, payable at different times, and ſome eſtates adjacent.

"Frenchmen, he exclaimed, adopting the habits of the people they "have conquered! What a ſcandal, what an unfortunate preſage!" Inſtead of the royal ſignet, this monarch ſealed the treaties he made with the hilt of his ſword: "I will ſupport the obſervation of them, "ſaid he, with the point."

Aventin, l. 4. Nota Sominche.

That he was a great admirer of the fair ſex is univerſally known; but that, piqued with the cruelty of St. *Amalberge*, he purſued her from one apartment to another, till in her flight ſhe fell, and broke her arm, is an anecdote not ſo publick.

In a paper of memorandums, of queſtions to be propoſed to his parliament in 811, one may perceive the difference of character in ancient and modern churchmen! "I will enquire of the eccleſiaſticks, (ſays he) "the ſignification of theſe words of the apoſtle; Thoſe who devote themſelves to the ſervice of God, ſhould not meddle with the affairs of this "world. I will inſiſt on their explaining to me, in what ſenſe they underſtand renouncing the pomps and vanities of this world? and if there is "no other diſtinction required between them and ſeculars, beſides celibacy, I will learn whether it is an article in their creed, that a man has "totally and truly abandoned earthly enjoyments, whoſe whole application is by every practicable method to augment his wealth; whoſe ſtudies are only calculated to perſuade weak minds that eternal ſalvation "depends on the gifts and legacies beſtowed on the church, and who "proſtitute the ſacred name of God, and of his ſaints, to work on "the imbecility of perſons in their laſt agonies to defraud their legitimate heirs; whilſt, robbed of inheritance, they become expoſed to "the temptation, and frequently plunged into the guilt of crimes, "which are too often the fatal conſequences of poverty." (Hiſt. of *France* by *Cordemor*. T. I. p. 640.)

Paſcal III. not being regarded as the lawful ſucceſſor of St. *Peter*, his canonization of *Charlemagne* was not unanimouſly adopted: but on the reconcilement of Frederick I. and Alexander *III*. that pope, at the emperor's requeſt, ratified the canonization.

I have already taken notice, that *Charles the Bald* deprived his ſon *Carloman* of ſight. *Louis the Debonair* forced the young *Bernard* king of *Italy*, his nephew, to ſubmit to the ſame puniſhment. Theſe mutilations became ſo frequent, that the oath of fealty adminiſtered to vaſſals ran in theſe words: "I ſwear to defend the perſon of my lord, "and not ſuffer him, with my acquieſcence, to be maimed in any "part of the body." Abbots, inſtead of impoſing on their monks canonical puniſhments, made no ſcruple to cut off an ear, a leg, or an arm, by way of expiation.

In

In a remarkable famine, which happened in 773, the ears of corn were blighted, and the voice of demons heard in the air, declaring they had laid waſte the harveſt, becauſe the people omitted paying the clergy a tenth part of their crops. An edict was ſpeedily publiſhed to oblige them to pay tythe for the future. How extraordinary, that the devil ſhould intereſt himſelf ſo ſtrenuouſly in favour of the church!

Latin was the vulgar tongue, or, in other words, the univerſal language in France under the *firſt race*. It is thought to have been more limited at the commencement of the reign of *Louis the Debonair*. Certain it is, that in the time of *Charles the Bald*, eccleſiaſticks were commanded to give their inſtructions and homilies in the Roman tongue, that they might be generally underſtood *by the people*. The *Roman* was a compound of Celtic and corrupted Latin, in which ſeveral *Tudeſcan* phraſes were introduced after the eſtabliſhment of the *Franks* in Gaul. This *Tudeſcan* was a branch of the *Celtic*, the original language of the *Weſt*, but had loſt its purity. The *Roman* was the ſame as the modern *French*. Capitul. anno 774.

It was cuſtomary for a lord to preſent his vaſſal with a piece of green turf, when he gave him the inveſtiture of an eſtate. In alluſion to this cuſtom, the parliament, or general aſſembly of the nation, convened in 922, when the greater part of the nobles, diſcontented with the adminiſtration of *Charles the Simple*, declared they would no longer acknowledge him as their ſovereign, "ſignifying their renunciation of homage and allegiance, by breaking and throwing looſe ſtraw upon the ground."

There was in thoſe times a ſingular method of acquiring fame, and ſometimes of making a fortune inſtantaneouſly. Women accuſed of adultery, were allowed to defend their innocence by *martial combat*; that is to ſay, by preſenting to the judges a *champion* of noble rank who ſhall force the accuſer to confeſs the calumny of his accuſation. The *vanquiſhed*, whether killed or diſarmed, was drawn on a ſledge, and hanged by the feet; the woman juſtified or puniſhed according to the event of the duel. In the reign of *Louis the Stammerer*, the counteſs *de Gaſtinois* was impeached of poiſoning her huſband. The evidence againſt her was ſo ſtrong, and Gontran her accuſer, couſin-german to her huſband, was reputed ſo formidable a warrior, that this lady found herſelf deſerted by all her friends and relations; when *Ingelger*, ſon of *Torquat*, a gentleman of *Brittany*, ſcarcely eighteen years of age, appeared in her defence. The judges appointed the *combat*; he killed Gontran. The counteſs, with the advice and approbation of her barons and

and vaſſals, made him her heir; and the archbiſhop of Tours gave him his niece, the beautiful *Adelinda*, in marriage, together with the caſtles of Amboiſe, *Buzencay*, and *Chatillon*. From this heroe, the earls of *Anjou*, who afterwards aſcended the throne of *England*, deduce their deſcent.

The proprietors of caſtles, built, without limitation, to ſtop the inroads of the *Normans*, proved in time almoſt as dreadful diſturbers of the peace of ſociety as thoſe pyrates. From their elevated fortreſſes, they pounced like hawks on all who appeared in the plains, extorting ranſoms from travellers, plundering merchants, and forcing away handſome women. Rape, robbery, and violence, might have been called privileges of the lord of a caſtle. "On the other hand, ſays *Mezerai*, true valour and courteſy were not ſo extinguiſhed in the human breaſt, but ſome gentlemen had the generoſity to enter into aſſociations; engaging to purſue, attack, and deſtroy theſe petty tyrants throughout the provinces. The foundation, continues he, of the knights-errant, giants, and monſters of romance."

Wives and daughters could not travel in much greater ſecurity in the neighbourhood of *religious houſes*; and the monks would ſooner hazard a ſiege than releaſe their prey; when they found the aſſailants preſs too vigorouſly, they lodged ſome holy relicks in the breach, which commonly inſpired the beholders with ſuch religious awe, that they retreated, not daring to proſecute their revenge. Hence fabulous writers have likewiſe borrowed their enchantments.

Queen *Adelaide* was the widow of Lotharius, king of Italy, and one of the moſt beautiful women of the age. *Berenger*, with a deſign of procuring her to marry his ſon, beſieged and took the city of *Pavia*; but afterwards violated the perſon of the queen, and impriſoned her in the caſtle *de Garde*, leaving her no other attendants than one of her women and a prieſt: ſhe found means to eſcape. She was offered a retreat by the archbiſhop of *Reggio*; and conſtrained to the neceſſity of travelling on foot by night, concealing herſelf in the day-time in corn fields, whilſt her almoner went to the adjacent villages in ſearch of proviſions. Another prieſt chanced to meet her, and inſolently made ſome diſhonourable overtures, which ſhe rejected with dignity; "Well, well, ſaid the prieſt, reſign your ſervant to me, at leaſt, otherwiſe I will diſcover you to *Berenger*." "The princeſs, continues *Mezeray*, ſubmitted to the law of neceſſity,—and the ſervant to the command of her miſtreſs." An ingenious caſuiſt has ſtated this adventure as a caſe of conſcience, and reaſons very judicially upon it.

Of

Of Cuſtoms, Manners, and Privileges till the Acceſſion of LOUIS XI.

AT the completion of the conqueſt of *Gaul*, the *French* were too inconſiderable in number to cultivate the whole extent of the country. They therefore made a diviſion of about a third part into *ſalique lands*, *military beneſices*, and *royal demeſnes*. Thoſe called *ſalique lands* were the private property of every *Frenchman*, diſtributed by lot, which conſequently became hereditary. *Military beneſices* were tracts of undivided lands belonging to the ſtate, but which the monarch was veſted in the power of granting for life to ſuch warriors as merited rewards for extraordinary actions, or for the length of their ſervices. *Royal demeſnes* were thoſe conſiderable tracts of country, aſſigned to the *Chief*, in the general diviſion. Theſe *demeſnes* were ſcattered throughout the kingdom, and amounted to above a hundred and ſixty eſtates, forming the principal part of the revenue belonging to the kings of the *firſt* and *ſecond race*.

Their palaces were not pleaſant ſeats, adorned with extenſive parks, and gardens embelliſhed by art, but good, comfortable farm-houſes, ſituated, commonly, in the centre of ſome foreſt. Oxen, cows, and ſheep grazed in the meadow,—wild and tame poultry were fed from the granaries, and horſes were bred for his majeſty's ſtables. The king performed his annual rotation from one to another, and might, with propriety, be ſaid to *live* upon his *eſtates*. What ſuperfluity of proviſions remained, after the court conſumption, was ſold for his own emolument. *Charlemagne*, in one of his Capitularies, gives orders for carrying to market the pullets from his farm yards; and alſo the produce of his kitchen gardens. A modern financier, who ſpends at leaſt ten thouſand crowns a year in ſoups at his country houſe, would be highly affronted with the man who preſumed to adviſe him, after his own, and his domeſticks tables were ſupplied with vegetables, to ſend the remainder to market!

Capitul. de Villis Art. 39.

The *French*, to furniſh labourers for the cultivation of their eſtates, did not find themſelves obliged to reduce into ſervitude part of the inhabitants who formerly poſſeſſed them. Amongſt the *Romans*, and even amongſt the French, during the firſt and ſecond royal families, and from the acceſſion of the third, till the enfranchiſement of the *Serfs*, what was ſtyled an eſtate or farm, comprehended not only a certain quantity of acres, and buildings, but the cattle and ſlaves, which conſtituted its greateſt value.

Dukes, earls, vicars, *canteniers* (or *thungeris)* were receivers of the finances; adminiſtered juſtice in the provinces; ſummoned [q] the military officers, appointed for the campaign; aſſembled and conducted the ſoldiery to the place of encampment or review.——Certain lands were appropriated to the ſupport of the higher, and lower order of magiſtrates. The judges were all military: by the *Salique* law, they were commanded to wear their bucklers when they pronounced a decree.

Towards the cloſe of the reign of *Charles the Bald*, the nobles, availing themſelves of national feuds, began to convert thoſe titles and employments granted only for life into hereditary honours. They appointed themſelves proprietary lords of cities and provinces, whoſe government had been confided to them during the royal pleaſure. So lucrative an example was ſoon imitated by the greater part of thoſe who enjoyed more limited juriſdictions, or were poſſeſſed of *military benefices*; and the apprehenſion of wanting mutual aſſiſtance in ſupport of theſe uſurpations was the foundation of moſt of the [r] *fiefs* and *meſne tenures*, or, in other words, of that convention by which he who had appropriated to himſelf the government of a town or city, ſwore allegiance to the governour of the province in which it was ſituated; and, to defend his perſon and property; conditionally, that the *lord* of the province ſhould, on his part, protect his vaſſal in all his rights, and never refuſe him juſtice.

From a variety of circumſtances, the two laſt monarchs of the *ſecond race* were far from being the richeſt lords in their kingdom. Their whole demeſne conſiſted only of the cities of Laon, Soiſſons, and Compiégne.

The acceſſion of *Hugh Capet*, was alſo an acceſſion of wealth to the crown, by enriching it with the earldom of Paris, and the duchy [s] of *France*; of both which his anceſtors had rendered themſelves proprietary lords. He confirmed the greater and leſſer vaſſals in the poſſeſſion and hereditaments of their *fiefs*; that is, he left them in peaceable poſſeſſion of thoſe provinces, cities, lands, and poſts of honour illegally acquired!

The

[q] Such as omitted repairing to the muſter on the day appointed, were condemned to abſtinence from wine and meat for as many days as they had exceeded the time limited.

[r] *Fief* owes its derivation to the Latin word *Fœdus*, or alliance, becauſe the lord and his vaſſal reciprocally connected themſelves by the act of *Inſtauration*.

[s] In the charters collected by M. de Marca it appears, that from the time of *Charles the Bald*, to the 16th year of the reign of *Philip Auguſtus*, the earls of Barcelona had continued to date their publick acts, "in ſuch a year of,—or king of *France*;" a proof that they acknowledged their ſovereigns.

The great feudatories of the crown were the dukes of Burgundy and Normandy, Acquitaine and Gaſcoigne. The earls of *Flanders*, *Champagne*, *Toulouſe*, and *Barcelona*. [*t*] Theſe provinces being converted into *feudal tenures*, became dependant on, and revertible to the crown in caſes of felony, or in default of heirs. Theſe *great feudatories* enjoyed all the rights of ſovereignty within their proper juriſdiction; and whoever of them was injured or attacked, his *liege* [*u*] *vaſſals* were bound to fight in his defence, even againſt the king. [*x*] If he was defeated, the peers, and other grandees of ſtate aſſembled in parliament, examined the nature of the offence, whether he had lawful reaſons for taking up arms;—and if they pronounced him guilty of felony, the forfeiture of his feudal tenure depended on the royal will, but the king could not condemn him to death. The acquiſition of nobility from public employments, or money, had not yet been introduced. The blood of every nobleman was eſteemed ſo ſacred, that it could not be ſhed but for the crime of treaſon. The firſt titular letters patent, to ennoble, were iſſued in the reign of *Philip the Bold*, ſon of St. *Louis*, in the year 1271.

There was an apparent diſtinction at that time between a *regal* and a *national war*; *regal wars* were thoſe carried on by the king againſt the great or inferior *feudatories* of the crown, with no other troops than his own tenants, and the liege vaſſals of his marquiſates. *Louis the Groſs* was three years before he could ſubdue Bouchard, * Montmorenci, and two or three other nobles, within twelve leagues diſtance from *Paris*. At the ſame time he commanded an army of two hundred thouſand ſoldiers, and marched to attack the emperor Henry V. who had advanced as far as *Rheims*; but, on the appearance of the *French*, retreated with ſuch precipitation and puſilanimity, that he never halted till he had gained the paſſage of the *Moſelle*, and the *Rhine*. The king

Sugerius, in *Ludovic. Groſſo.*

[*t*] *Robert the Strong* was ſlain in an engagement againſt the *Normans*, in the village of *Briſſate*, in *Anjou*. *Charles the Bald* had given him the duchy of France in 863. This duchy, or government, beſides ſome conſiderable territories in *Champagne* and *Picardie*, included the earldom and city of Paris; the Orleanois, *Chartrain*, and *Perche*: the earldom of *Blois*, with *Touraine*, and part of *Anjou*, and *Maine*. Thus it is evident, the earls, and particular lords of theſe diſtricts, ſtole their honours from the duchy of *France*.

[*u*] In ceding their own lands, or thoſe they held by uſurpation, the *barons* made agreements more or leſs ſcandalous with their tenants. The bond *vaſſal* was obliged to ſerve his lord perſonally on every occaſion, and againſt every perſon, whilſt the *free vaſſal* had the privilege of appointing a ſubſtitute; nor was he conſtrained to lend his aſſiſtance, but in particular emergencies.

[*x*] The king ſtill allows his ſubjects to plead againſt him in courts of judicature. It was the faſhion of thoſe days to plead with the ſword.

* *Mathieu*. his ſon, married the widow of *Louis the Groſs*.

of *England*, then duke of *Normandy*, had inſtigated the Germans to this irruption. Louis endeavoured to perſuade the lords and barons of his realm to engage with him in the reduction of Normandy, but they deſired to be excuſed, and led back the contingent troops they had furniſhed. "We took arms, ſaid they, in defence of our native country, threatened with a foreign invaſion—but we are under no obligation to concur in diſpoſſeſſing the duke of *Normandy* of his territories, a feudatory of the crown, and conſequently one of the members of the ſtate." Their ordinary policy conſiſted in promoting the aggrandizement of the ſtate; and never ſuffering the monarchical power to acquire ſufficient ſtrength to cruſh or humiliate the ariſtocratical.

"What a noble ſyſtem, ſays *Monteſquieu*, [*y*] was *feudal government!* It reſembled a venerable oak, exalting its head to the clouds —the eye beheld its foliage at a diſtance—advancing nearer diſcovered its trunk—but its roots were inviſible—emboſomed deep in the earth!" I am firmly convinced that this admired ſyſtem of feudal *government* almoſt always degenerates into anarchy. That venerable oak, *royalty*, from the luxuriancy of its principal branches (the great *feudatories*) who extracted all its ſap, and ſolidity, became a withered trunk.—The political ſyſtem, from the reign of *Clovis* to that of *Charles the Bald*, was indeed a noble one: A Frenchman was only the *vaſſal* of his country—he acknowledged no ſuperior between himſelf and the throne—his *chiefs* were his equals in rank—and he only inliſted under their banner at the royal command.

From that æra to the acceſſion of *Louis* XI. the ſcene was a ſad reverſe. *France* was frittered out amongſt a variety of petty princes, who were perpetually entering into combinations againſt their ſovereign, and frequently into alliances with England. A univerſal ſpirit of independency prevailed. Each individual arrogated to himſelf the *right of war*. Cities, pariſhes, abbeys, private families took up the ſword againſt each other. The obligations of conſanguinity did not in theſe diſputes extend beyond the fourth degree; but as friends and allies all were admitted. Several methods were tried to correct theſe diſorders; acts of hoſtility were ſtrictly prohibited during *Advent*, *Chriſtmas*,

[*y*] Some writers, whom Monteſquieu has followed rather too inconſiderately, pretend that *military benefices* were beſtowed on condition the poſſeſſors of them ſhould be always ready to appear in arms for the ſtate; that theſe were conſequently *Fiefs*, and of equal antiquity with the monarchy.—But this is a miſtake; for it is indiſputable, that every Frenchman, when he attained a certain age, was obliged to ſerve his country; it therefore became unneceſſary to gratify particular perſons for the performance of a duty indiſpenſable to the whole community, and preſcribed by a general law. Military benefactions, as I have already obſerved, were only diſtributed as rewards of military ſervices.

Chriſtmas, Lent, Eaſter and *Whitſuntide.* Alſo to intercept, or lie wait for an enemy within the verge of the church, or in his way to maſs, or in any other place, between Thurſday night and Monday Morning.

Philip the Fair, in the year 1311, made an effort to put a final ſtop to theſe domeſtick contentions. But the nobles, jealous of an encroachment on what they regarded as one of their privileges, immediately revolted; and, three years after, his ſucceſſor, Louis Hutin, was obliged to permit their continuation *at ſuch ſeaſons as the nation was not engaged in a foreign war.*

It appears in a manuſcript copy of remonſtrances of the province of *Picardie*, Art. VI. "That the nobles demanded they might, according to ancient cuſtom, *wear arms, and wage war with, and endeavour to vanquiſh their enemies, when and where they pleaſed.*"——Granted by the king—"the right of arms, and waging war, according to ancient cuſtom."—"Granted by the king alſo, the duel and martial challenge, in caſes of crimes that cannot be proved by witneſſes." In 1168, *Louis the Young* enacted, *that combat* ſhould not be granted where a debt did not exceed five ſols. *Philip the Fair* prohibited it in all civil cauſes. A friend of mine, who deals in paradoxes, had the abſurdity to aſſert there was leſs injuſtice committed, and property was leſs invaded in thoſe times than in the preſent.——

According to him, there is a more refined degree of politeneſs in the behaviour of gentlemen of the army to each other, than in that of lawyers and eccleſiaſticks, who wear no ſword. Men would not ſo inconſiderately be guilty of affronts, if each had a right to demand a tryal by the *camp fight.* Beſides, continued he, the relations of him who meditated an act of injuſtice would be intereſted in its prevention, becauſe the conſequence muſt be a *family engagement.* I grant, added he, that they burnt and deſtroyed each others vineyards, barns, cornfields, and even, ſometimes, were ſpectators of the *death* of their children—— whereas in theſe days, when a father is ruined by the machinations of an attorney or ſolicitor, or the avarice of a judge, who purchaſes the privilege of trying cauſes, and compelling the unfortunate to groan under the evils of procraſtination, inſolence, and caprice, he only beholds them reduced to beggary.

Continuation of Manners, Cuſtoms, and Privileges to the Reign of LOUIS XI.

THE ſuperior clergy ſeem to have poſſeſſed the virtue of continence in as ſuperlative a degree in that age as in the preſent. The caſe was different with the canons, and parochial prieſts. The generality of them entered into matrimony, and flattered themſelves with being able, by the ſpecious plauſibility of their arguments, to dazzle the underſtanding and politicks of princes and nobles. They repreſented marriage as a neceſſary inſtitution for making an eccleſiaſtick a good citizen, and attaching him to the ſtate; that an expectation of obtaining favour and protection for his children, would render him leſs encroaching,—leſs inſolent,—more ſubmiſſive and circumſpect towards magiſtrates;—and that the ſee of Rome would never have thought of condemning prieſts to celibacy, had they not wanted to eſtabliſh in every kingdom a detached body of men, always ready to oppoſe temporal authority, and acknowledging no ſovereign but the pope. This licentiouſneſs of ſpeech naturally irritated the holy ſee, and its legates. 1119, Pope Calixtus II. in a council held at Rheims, excommunicated all the married clergy—deprived them of their benefices—forbad them to be preſent at maſs—declared their children illegitimate, and thought it an incumbent duty to extend his ſeverity to thoſe innocent beings, by yielding them a prey to the avarice of the nobles, who were authorized to reduce them to bondage, and even to ſell them. I ſhould imagine that the various revolutions of the human mind, at different periods, in points the moſt ſimple and natural, would form a very curious hiſtory. All the *Rabbins* agree, that the law of *Moſes* cut off from the congregation of *Iſrael* thoſe who did not marry by a certain age. The *Roman* laws did not permit batchelors to make wills, or give evidence. "Have you a wife?" was the firſt queſtion of the cenſor before he adminiſtered an oath. Gladiators, prize-fighters, ſingers, dancers, painters in enamel, becauſe they generally continued ſingle, were regarded by the Pagan theologiſts with a kind of horror. "You fear to enervate (ſaid the prieſts to theſe artiſts) "your ſtrength and your agility—to enfeeble your voice, and your "ſight—but you do not fear the loſs of your ſoul. It is treaſon againſt "nature to leave the world without endeavouring to encreaſe its in-"habitants. Ye are impious men for whom the dæmons lie in wait "to inflict the ſevereſt puniſhments in the *Tartarean* gulph." *Lycurgus* was not leſs rigorous in reſpect to thoſe obſtinate perſons who lived in

Cicero de Legibus.

Plutarch.

in a ſtate of celibacy. He excluded them from employments, both civil and military. They were even obliged to ſubmit annually to a trifling, and rather diſagreeable ceremony. The Lacedemonian women carried them in proceſſion from their own houſes, on the firſt day of April, to the temple of Juno, teazing them with a thouſand malicious ſarcaſms on the road, and ſcourging them with rods before the ſtatue of the goddeſs of marriage. Athen. l. 13.

Bulls of excommunication againſt the married prieſts proved more efficacious than that fulminated in the enſuing year by the biſhop of *Laon* againſt the mice and caterpillars, who had deſtroyed the harveſt.—Does not the fact appear incredible, that in the time of *Francis* the firſt theſe vermin were actually allowed an advocate to defend their cauſe, in oppoſition to the farmers? Several examples might be produced, but I ſhall only give a copy of a ſentence pronounced by the official of *Trogis* in *Champagne*, July 9, 1516. "On a fair hearing of both parties, it appears equitable to us, at the requeſt of the inhabitants of *Villenoce*, to admoniſh the caterpillars to withdraw themſelves from their fields within ſix days. Should they prove refractory to this admonition, we hereby curſe and excommunicate them." Theophilus Raimond.

Theſe kind of anathemas have been denounced by almoſt all nations. The natives of the Atlantic iſles finding the ſun from his exceſſive heat extremely inconvenient, petitioned one of their prieſts to interdict him from appearing till the afternoon. To be baniſhed the temple was conſidered by the Jews as the higheſt degree of puniſhment. *Cæſar*, ſpeaking of the *Gauls*, ſays——"The Druids decided all proceſſes; thoſe who refuſed ſubmiſſion to their decrees were prohibited from attending the ſacrifices. Perſons under ſuch interdiction were reputed impious and abandoned——were incapacitated from pleading or giving evidence in judicial cauſes; and avoided [z] by every one, leſt their preſence and converſation ſhould be productive of ſome misfortune." De Bello Gallico. Lib. 6.

We learn from *Plutarch*, that the *Athenian* ſenate ſolicited the princeſs *Theano* to denounce a malediction on Alcibiades, whom they accuſed of mutilating the ſtatues of Mercury after an evening's debauch. *Theano* excuſed herſelf in this reply——"That ſhe was the ſervant of the Gods, to pray for and bleſs mankind, not to curſe and abhor them." When *Philip Auguſtus* repudiated his wife *Ingelburge*, in order to eſpouſe *Agnes de Meranie*, the pope put the kingdom of *France* under an interdiction. The churches were unopened for near eight months. No maſs—no veſpers—no matrimony; *the rites*

[z] Ne quid ex contagione incommode accipeant.

rites of marriage were even deemed illicit. Becauſe the king refuſed to cohabit with his queen, continence was to be the univerſal faſhion; and the human ſpecies was to ſuffer an annual decreaſe.

Whoever had been enjoined *publick penance* by the church, was ſuſpended from all functions, civil, military, and connubial. He was neither to comb his hair, ſhave, waſh, or even change his linen; ſo that at length he unavoidably became a moſt vile and filthy penitent. The good king *Robert* incurred this cenſure for marrying his couſin; only two domeſticks remained in his train; and every thing he touched was purified by fire. In a word, the horror excited by any intercourſe with an excommunicated perſon was ſo exceſſive, that a proſtitute, whom *Eudes le Pelletier* paſt half an hour with, being informed ſome days after, that he was under an interdict for ſix months, found herſelf ſo much affected as to be ſeized with convulſions, which endangered her life—ſhe, however, recovered by the abſolution and prayers of a holy deacon.

If any civil and eccleſiaſtical intereſts happened to be entangled, ſo that the *religious* were ſummoned to anſwer before a ſecular judge, the contending party, and the judge who preſumed to cite them before his tribunal, were immediately excommunicated. They preached at the ſame time, that it was lawful to plunder the effects of an excommunicated perſon, till he was abſolved—and the price of abſolutions was exorbitant.

Theſe infringements of the liberties of ſociety were ſo much more alarming, as the church aſſerted, that the royal authority ought to extend its care to the execution of eccleſiaſtical cenſures, without admitting its privilege to examine the legality and equitableneſs of ſuch cenſures. *Joinville* relates, "That the clergy of *France* repreſented to "St. Louis, that his majeſty ſuffered Chriſtianity to be extinguiſhed in "his dominions—How does this happen? ſaid that great king. Becauſe "none of your majeſty's ſubjects trouble themſelves about abſolution; "therefore, Sire, command your judges to oblige all excommuni-"cated perſons to apply to the church for abſolution within a year "and a day. With all my heart, replied St. *Louis*, provided the "judge is convinced of the equity of their ſentence. The biſhops "alledged, that the laity were incompetent judges of the equity of "their cenſures. And the king declared he never would grant them an "unconditional power, from a clear conviction that he muſt, by ſuch "a compliance, be guilty of great injuſtice to the reſt of his ſub-"jects."

Of

Of SERFS, *or* BOND-VASSALS.

AN idea may be formed of the ſituation of the bond-vaſſals in *France*, from the following ordonnance. "Know all men by theſe "preſents, that we *William*, the unworthy biſhop of *Paris*, do give "our conſent to the eſpouſals of *Odeline*, daughter of *Radulphe Gaudin*, "of the village [*a*] of *Ceres*, bondſwoman of our church; and *Ber-* "*trand*, ſon of *Hugon*, deceaſed, bondſman, of the abbey of St. *Ger-* "*main des Prez*; on condition that the children who may be born of "the ſaid marriage, ſhall be divided equally between us, and the ſaid "abbey; and that if the ſaid *Odeline* chances to die without children, "all her effects, real and perſonal ſhall revert to us; in the ſame man- "ner, all the real and perſonal effects of the ſaid *Bertrand*, in failure "of children, are to return to the abbey of St. *Germain des Prez*.—— "Given under our hand in the year 1242."

To prevent diſputes that might ariſe from the ſuperior natural advantages of ſome children comparatively with others, the lords of manors drew lots for them. If there was only one child, it belonged to the mother, and conſequently was the property of her lord: ſhe had alſo a right to two out of three, and three out of five children. More than two thirds of the inhabitants of the kingdom were comprized in theſe ſerfs, bondſmen, or *gens de poſte*. Deprived of the freedom of choice, they could neither marry, nor reſide out of the precincts of their lord, without permiſſion. He was the arbiter of their fate, to give, ſell, exchange, or claim them every where; even if they prudently ſought an aſylum in the church. The abbot of St. Denis was taken priſoner by the Normans in 858. His ranſom was ſet at 685 livres in gold, 3250 in ſilver, horſes, oxen, and ſeveral *ſerfs* or bondſmen of his abbey, with their wives and children. (Annal. Bened. T. III. L. 35. num. 33.)

An indigent gentleman preſented himſelf one day, with his two daughters, before *Henry*, ſirnamed *the Large*, earl of *Champagne*, beſeeching his majeſty to beſtow a portion on them in marriage. He was rudely repulſed by *Artaud*, the earl's intendant of the province, who, like the reſt of his brethren, was become rich, arrogant, and oppreſſive; telling him, that his lord had been ſo munificent in his bounty he had nothing left to diſpoſe of.—"Thou lyeſt, villain! ſaid the earl, I have not yet diſpoſed of thee!——Thou art part of my property.— Mezeray, t. 2. p. 230.

[*a*] Vuiſſons *Villa Cereris*, a village about three leagues from Paris, towards *Antoine*, where there was, anciently, a temple dedicated to Ceres.

Take him, Sir, (addreſſing himſelf to the gentleman) I make thee a preſent of him, and will protect thy claim." The gentleman bound Artaud, led him away captive, and did not releaſe him till he paid him five hundred livres to get huſbands for his daughters. *Serfs* of the ſame eſtate, obliged to marry within their own community, muſt be more ſtrongly cemented in affection, and more diſpoſed to ſoften the pangs of ſickneſs, and the infirmities of age in thoſe with whom they were aſſociated. Beggars and vagabonds were ſcarcely ſeen in *France*, becauſe a vaſſal was not allowed to extend his travels beyond the boundary of his lord's territories. A ſpirit of induſtry was excited by the deſire of augmenting their [*b*] *Péculé*, and from the hope of being one day able to purchaſe their freedom. Naturally free-born ſubjects, thoſe who were enfranchiſed, and the *Serfs*, who appertained to cities, were equally employed in the cultivation of arts and ſciences, the extenſion of commerce, and the encreaſe of manufactures.

Louis the Groſs was the firſt of our monarchs who introduced the enfranchiſement of the *Serfs* in cities and great towns; that is, they were no longer adherent to the place of their nativity, but at liberty for the time to come to live where they pleaſed. By degrees, moſt of the nobles, either to furniſh magnificent equipages, during the madneſs of the cruſades, or ruined by theſe foreign wars, permitted their vaſſals to redeem themſelves from ſlavery by the advancement of immenſe ſums of money. Liberty, if ſome writers are to be credited, ſerved only to inſpire theſe new free-men with an averſion for labour, and to render them inſolent beggars, and publick pillagers.

D'Outremer.

This period was the commencement and eſtabliſhment of the four orders of mendicants——The Dominicans, Cordeliers, Carmelites, and Auguſtines.

Of MATRIMONY.

A N inclination for marriage, and to perpetuate one's name, was in former ages reputed a leſs honourable crime than murder. In the firſt part of this work, I have ſhewn that in the palaces of biſhops, and other religious edifices, there was a court appointed for the liſts. Couſin-germans enjoyed the privilege to kill each other, whilſt marriages with relations, not only to the fourth, but even to the ſeventh degree of conſanguinity were anathematiſed and diſſolved.—The great leaders of the church enfranchiſed the champion who had been thrice victorious in defence of *their rights*——that is to ſay, who had ſlain, or

The true Theatre of honour, by Columbiere, p. 204.

[*b*] The *Péculiera* is wealth, which he who is in ſubjection has acquired by his own induſtry, labour and frugality, and which he is privileged to diſpoſe of.

or bruiſed to death three men——Yet in their ſermons they ſtigmatized with infamy that huſband who ſhould marry three wives. A prieſt, who, at his brother's nuptials, wore a *wedding favour* on his ſleeve, was interdicted by the biſhop for ſix months—but in the duel between *Jarnac* and *Chataigneraye*, the friends and relations, as well eccleſiaſticks as laicks, were diſtinguiſhed by cockades of different colours. Jarnac's party wore black and white; *Chataigneraye*'s blue and grey. The prohibition of marriage to the ſeventh degree of conſanguinity muſt have been extremely embarraſſing to the arithmeticians of thoſe times, if the calculation is juſt, that in aſcending to the fifteenth table of genealogy, thirty-two thouſand perſons may have contributed to the birth of one.

Convinced that the ſtrength and riches of a monarchy conſiſts in the encreaſe of its ſubjects, Louis XIV. in 1666, aſſigned penſions of two thouſand franks out of the publick revenue, to ſuch noblemen as had twelve children, and dedicated none of them to the church. To perſons of inferior rank, poſſeſſed of the ſame number, and the ſame way of thinking, he obtained an entire exemption from taxes, impoſts, and military contributions. An ordonnance ſo wiſe in the nature of its inſtitution, has never been executed, any more than another, ſo frequently renewed by the majority of our kings, that perſons of either ſex ſhould not be admitted to take the *vow*, in any religious ſociety, before the age of twenty-five years. A neglect that is matter of lamentation to all good citizens. But in *France*, a man of curioſity and reflection muſt expect often to meet with ſubject for mirth as well as ſorrow—For inſtance, what can be more diverting than to behold religious communities, ſatisfying their appetites daily with ſuch aliments as would be preſcribed them, were they deſtined for the population of uninhabited iſlands. In the firſt ages of Chriſtianity, to marry a girl of irregular conduct, was intitled a *work of mercy*.

I ſhall conclude theſe obſervations of marriage with a query not inapplicable to the ſubject—Why a cuckold, though a harmleſs being, ſhould, univerſally, be held in contempt? Perhaps the reply will not be unſatisfactory, that the caſe particularly indicates a ſervile degree of vaſſalage.

Of TITLES *of* HONOUR.

Camillus Borellus, Biblioth. Germ.

THE civil war kindled by the ſons of *Louis the Debonair* was ſo ſanguinary in its conſequences, that the battle of *Fontenoi*, alone, is reported to have coſt *France* near a hundred thouſand men. Two

thirds of the nobility of *Champagne* periſhed there; and, in ſome degree, to repair the loſs, *Charles the Bald* granted a privilege to women of quality, in that province, who married plebeians, of ennobling their huſbands. Thoſe are reputed noble, ſays an ancient record belonging to *Champagne* and *Brie*, who are deſcended from a father or mother of noble extraction. Nobility transferred by the female line continued undiſputed till 1566, when the king's ſolicitor of *the court of aids* at *Paris*, alledged that this cuſtom had been tolerated, through neceſſity, to repeople the province with nobility; but the cauſe no longer exiſting, the effect ought, conſequently, to ceaſe. I recollect no patent of nobility attended with more flattering and pleaſing ſenſations than that of *Anne Muſnier*, about the time of the reformation. This woman, concealed by ſome trees in the earl of *Champagne*'s garden, overheard part of a converſation between three men, who waited the hour of the earl's riſing in the morning, with an intention to aſſaſſinate him. Obſerving them retire, either tranſported with horror at an attempt on the life of her prince, or apprehending her information would be too late to prevent it, ſhe called to them aloud from the other end of the walk, making ſigns of having ſomething to ſay——The firſt who approached ſhe ſtabbed to the heart with a kitchen knife; defended herſelf againſt the other two; and received ſeveral wounds before the family, alarmed, came to her aſſiſtance. Evidences of the crime of theſe abandoned wretches were found upon them; they confeſſed it, under the torture, and were executed. *Anne Muſnier*, her huſband *Gerard de Langres*, and their deſcendants were ennobled.

In a certificate, bearing date Dec. 11, 1446, to prove the nobility of *Perrette Bureau*, married to *John le Gras*, it is aſſerted, "That ſhe "was carried to church in a barrow, ſtrewed with hawthorn and juni- "per, purſuant to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom of gentlemen and gentlewo- "men; a ceremony never permitted to perſons of ignoble deſcent. "Theſe have no claim to the honour of being carried to church on "their wedding day, and the day following, ſeated in a barrow, de- "corated with thorns and juniper." (*La Rague*'s treatiſe of nobility, p. 185.)

Of ATCHIEVEMENTS.

De Varietate Scientiarum, c. 81.

"IT would be an impropriety, ſays *Agrippa*, to ſee in the coat of "arms, or ſhield of a gentleman, any tame animal uſeful for the ſup- "port of life; ſuch as a hen, gooſe, duck, calf, or ſheep. The "ſpecification and character of nobility is to hold ſome ferocious, and "carnivorous creature in ſubjection."

All

All nations have their characteriſtical enſign, or mark of diſtinction. That of *Athens* was the owl; of *Thrace* a dead body; the *Celtæ* diſplayed a ſword; the *Romans* an eagle; the *Carthaginians* a horſe's head; a bounding courſer diſtinguiſhed the *Saxons*; a bear the *Goths*; and a lion was the ſymbol of *France*. Amongſt the Romans, every legion was denominated by the peculiar ſymbol on their bucklers; as the *thundering legion*—that of *the dragon*, &c. (Draconarii.)

The druids of the ſeminary of Autun, probably becauſe of the virtues they attributed to the ſerpent's egg, choſe for their coat of arms a ſerpent couchant, argent, in a field azure; the creſt, a branch of miſletoe, crowned with acorns, vert. The chief, or high prieſt had a bunch of keys for his ſymbol. Religion of the Gauls, T. I. p. 215.

According to *Tacitus*, the ſtandards and banners borne by the *Germans* in the field of battle, were depoſited in their ſacred foreſts in times of peace. From this precedent, our monarchs borrowed the ceremony of taking the cope of St. *Martin* from his tomb, and the *oriflamme*, or ſtandard from the abbey of St. *Denis*, and replacing them again at the concluſion of a war. De Moribus Germ. C. 7.

Let our intendants be careful, ſays *Charles the Bald* in his Capitularies, that all biſhops, abbots, and abbeſſes, command their vaſſals to march with military accoutrements, and bearing the proper enſigns of their order. An edict, in the reign of *Louis the Fat*, ordered all cities, and large towns to marſhal the citizens in ſeparate diviſions, according to their pariſhes; the prieſts marching in the van with the banners of their reſpective churches.

Beſides the cope of St. *Martin*, and the *banner* of St. *Denis*, there was alſo the royal ſtandard; but the emblematical figures and devices were variable; the reigning prince obliterated the old, and imagined ſome new deſign, frequently in a very different taſte from that of his predeceſſor. What ornaments do we ſee, ſays *Le Gendre*, on the antique royal ſignets? The portraits of our kings—church-porches, crucifixes, and heads of ſaints. Certain it is, that neither in ſtone nor metal, on medals or intaglios, are any veſtiges to be traced of flower *de lys*, before the days of *Louis the Young*. His reign, 1147, was the commencement of the eſcutcheons of *France* being charged with lilies; and of the *arms* of thoſe princes, barons, and gentlemen concerned in the ſecond cruſade becoming permanent and hereditary marks of diſtinction to their families.

The teſtimony of hiſtorians agrees that, in 1085, *Robert*, the eldeſt ſon of *William* the Conqueror, then in rebellion againſt his father, happened

happened to encounter him in the field, and ſtruck ſo furiouſly with his lance, as to diſmount and throw him to the ground. The king's exclamation in falling, diſcovered him to his ſon, who implored his forgiveneſs with tears. This circumſtance is a conviction, that atchievements were not then fixed and hereditary; for, from the inſtant they became ſo, every one affected to place them in the moſt conſpicuous part of their armour and ſhield, particularly perſons of illuſtrious rank; as well to indicate their deſire to be diſtinguiſhed, as their ſcorn of being intimidated at becoming the peculiar mark of an enemy's attention. The royal coat of arms was blue ſtudded with gold flower *de lys*, the ſcarf white. From time immemorial, white has been the characteriſtical colour of the French, as red ſeems to have been of the Engliſh nation.

LIVERIES.

THE permanent ſucceſſion of arms introduced the faſhion of liveries; which, like arms, were left to the fancy and choice of thoſe entitled to give them. I have already obſerved, that they ornamented their coats of mail and bucklers with atchievements, and wore ſcarves, whoſe various colours particularized what provinces they belonged to. The earls of *Flanders* wore a dark green; the earls of *Anjou* pale; red was the duke of Burgundy's colour; Aurora and blue thoſe of the earls of *Blois* and *Champagne*. The dukes of *Lorraine* choſe yellow; the dukes of Brittany black and white. The vaſſals of different princes appeared in ſcarves the colour of their chief; and ſuch as were allied to him, or who poſſeſſed any office within his juriſdiction, teſtified their attachment by adding to their liveries a little border or galloon, more or leſs broad, the colour of their patron's. This accounts for the intermixture of dark green in the liveries of the nobles of Flanders, and part of *Picardy*,——and ſo of other provinces.——Thoſe adjacent to *Paris*, that depended more immediately on the crown, commonly added a blue trimming. It may undoubtedly be aſked, how red came to be intermixed in the royal liveries?—to this I anſwer, that though white was the original national colour, it was cuſtomary for our princes, when they appeared in regal ſtate, to wear a long robe, or *ſultana*, under their upper garment, which was blue, grounded with flower *de lys*.

In tournaments, a knight was not confined to the colours of his progenitors, but at liberty to give the reins of fancy, which generally diſplayed its complaiſance to the taſte of ſome favourite miſtreſs.

Inſtances

Inſtances were frequent among the nobles and citizens, of ſuch unbounded devotion to particular ſaints, as induced them to become voluntary vaſſals of his church, wearing, as a badge, ſmall capes the colour of his banner, and iron rings on the finger or ancle. Probably, in profane imitation of this cuſtom, ſome love-ſick knight, in manifeſtation of his amorous bondage, invented thoſe bracelets or chains of lace round the arm, which ornament ſome liveries.

Twice a year the king preſented red mantles, trimmed either with ermine, or a compound fur, called *menu-vair*, grey and white, to thoſe knights retained near his perſon to aſſiſt in his councils, and in the adminiſtration of juſtice. Theſe mantles were called *livery robes*. At the battle of *Courtrai*, 1302, John Vignerol received ſeveral wounds, and was trampled under the horſes feet, ſo that his health was in a languiſhing ſtate for four years; yet *notwithſtanding his incapability to wear armour, mount a horſe, or determine a proceſs, Philip the Fair ſtill granted him a ſhare in the diſtribution of livery robes.*

Of ſingular MODES *and* DRESSES.

ABOVE 400,000 *Frenchmen* were ſacrificed in the holy wars—but then we acquired ſome new faſhions! among others, that of long garments. In the 12th, and three ſucceeding centuries, a flowing robe, or *ſultana* was the genteel dreſs. The nobles apprehended that a ſweeping train was a pretext for having a train-bearer, whoſe humiliating employment reflected an air of dignity and diſtinction on his lord.

Knights only were entitled to the privilege of wearing over the *ſultana* a mantle with looſe ſleeves, faſtened to the wriſt, and reaching down to the knee. Theſe mantles were made of the richeſt ſtuffs, bordered with ermine, martin, ſquirrel ſkins, or *menu-vair*. Princes were not permitted to ornament their perſons, or thoſe of their princeſſes with gold lace, or embroidery till they were inveſted with the honour of knighthood.

The *French*, for more than three centuries, preſerved the exterior appearance of quiet citizens, and lovers of their country. Swords were no part of dreſs. The diſtinction of a nobleman was a long purſe hanging from his girdle. The preſent military mode excites an idea of contention and tumult. The head was covered with a kind of hood with a quilted crown, falling looſe behind. Theſe were commonly of the ſame materials as the mantle and *ſultana*, and trimmed with fur. This ancient hood has ſuffered a variety of revolutions. Preſidents, *a*

mortier

mortier wear it on their neck—canons on their arm—doctors, counſellors, and advocates, careleſſly on their ſhoulders.

In *Charles* V's reign, it was the faſhion to *blazon their cloaths*; that is, to embroider them with the different quarterings of their coat of arms.

Party-coloured robes, not unlike a verger's dreſs, was the prevailing taſte under Charles VI. Oct. 1, 1409, according to a journal of thoſe times, the Sieur *John de Montagu* was led from the little *Chatelet* to the hall of juſtice, [c] ſeated high in a cart, dreſſed in his livery robe; or, in other words, in a red and white party-coloured mantle, and hood of the ſame. Buſkins, one red, the other white, and gilt ſpurs; his hands tied, preceded by two trumpeters. After being beheaded, his body was hung on the gibbet at Paris in his ſhirt, buſkins, and ſpurs.

The court of *Francis* I. not content with quitting the incumbrance of flowing robes, adopted the oppoſite extream. The tapeſtry of thoſe days repreſents the monarch and his courtiers like pantaloons, in a doublet with ſhort ſhirts, drawers and ſtockings wove in one piece. This dreſs ſat ſo cloſe and pliant to the ſhape, that it was not decent. Men advanced in years wore large breeches like the Swiſs, whilſt the younger ſort had a kind of ſhort puffed trowſers, which reached half way the thigh, and over theſe a ſhort petticoat; ſo that excepting a little cloak, which is no part of the dreſs of our running footmen, they exactly reſembled them. What completed the affinity was a little turned-up cap with their arms embroided. Soldiers wore theſe caps on the middle of the head; courtiers and citizens placed them over the right ear, leaving the left uncovered; perſons of rank uſually adorned the left ear with pearl pendants. There was little variation in theſe faſhions during the reigns of *Henry* II. *Francis* II. *Charles* IX. *Henry* III. and IV.

In the days of *Charles* VI. the female head dreſs was a high-crowned hat, like a ſugar-loaf, with a veil faſtened at the top, longer or ſhorter, in proportion to the quality of the wearer. The veil of a citizen's wife reached only to the ſhoulder, but that of a knight's lady touched the ground. A ſmall hat and feather was the mode in the time of Francis I. and *Henry* II. and the little cap and aigrette ſucceeded in that of *Henry* III. and IV.

When

[c] He was grand maſter of the houſehold, and ſuperintendant of the finances. Father Dubreuil ſays, his body was conveyed to *Montfaucon* in a ſack filled with ſpices, which the Celeſtines had provided for embalming it, till interment was permitted. (Journal de Paris.)

When *Francis* II. ſat on the throne, the men diſcovered that a prominent paunch had a very majeſtic appearance. The women immediately took it into their heads, that the reverſe of this faſhion would have a very ſtriking effect; ſo that big-bellied men, and women with protuberant hips, were the ſtandards of grace. This ridiculous mode laſted three or four years. One thing remarkable was, that the ladies ſeemed to think the face no longer of any conſequence, but began to conceal it with a maſque, which they wore in the ſtreets, in the publick walks—at viſits, and even at church. The maſque gave place to patches: theſe are ſaid to have been ſo laviſhly ſcattered, that it was almoſt impoſſible to diſtinguiſh beauty from deformity. As to the cuſtom of painting with *rouge*, I ſhall only obſerve it derives it origin from the generals of * *Rome* when they entered the city in triumph; and ſurely there is nothing extraordinary in a pretty woman's fancying every day is to her a day of triumph!

Of BEARDS.

THAT every *Frenchman* was born a ſoldier, was a fundamental, national principle; therefore, whoever neglected the profeſſion of arms ceaſed to be a *Frenchman*; and, as a mark of ſeparation, was obliged to cut off his hair and beard, becauſe theſe diſtinguiſhed the *French* from the nations under their ſubjection. Young men wore only muſtachoes.

When *Alaric*, king of the *Viſigoths*, apprehended an attack from *Clovis*, he ſought to amuſe him with ſpecious hopes of ſucceſſion, and requeſted an interview, that he might touch his beard, or, in other words, adopt him; for that was the ceremony uſed on ſuch occaſions. Speaking of the laſt princes of the *firſt race*, *Eginard*, who was ſecretary to *Charlemagne*, mentions their coming to the general aſſemblies of the people, held in the open field in the month of March, in chariots drawn by oxen; and ſitting on thrones, with their hair long [*d*] and diſhevelled, and beards hanging down to their girdle. Fauchet, c. 21.

† Robert, whom *Charles the Simple*, from whom he would have wreſted the crown, killed with his own hand, at the beginning of the battle let his long white beard appear through the lower part of his helmet, that his own ſoldiers might know him. A proof that long beards were in faſhion with the kings of the *ſecond race*: they even continued ſo with the early monarchs of the *third*; for *Hugh*, count Mezerai, p. 635.

* Servius, in Virgil, Eclogue 6.
[*d*] Crine profuſo, barbâ ſubmiſſa.
† Grandfather to Hugh Capet.

de Chalons, being conquered by *Richard*, duke of *Normandy*, proſtrated himſelf before him with a ſaddle on his back, to teſtify his implicit obedience. The chronicle adds, that his great beard gave him more the reſemblance of a goat than of a horſe.

Towards the cloſe of the 11th century, *William*, archbiſhop of *Rouen*, declared war againſt long hair; and enacted in council, anno 1096, with the concurrence of ſeveral biſhops, that whoever for the future wore long hair ſhould be excluded from the boſom of the church during life; nor ſhould prayers be offered for his ſoul after his deceaſe. The zeal of mankind was agitated for and againſt this cenſure of the archbiſhop's. It became the ſource of various ſcandalous diſſenſions for many years, and even of ſuch lively controverſies, that either party might boaſt of martyrs to this momentous article of faith. The famous *Peter Lombard*, afterwards biſhop of *Paris*, made ſuch ſtriking remonſtrances to *Louis* VII. about the year 1146, that the monarch believed his conſcience intereſted in ſetting an example of ſubmiſſion to the biſhop's mandate on the iniquity of long hair; and not ſatisfied with cropping his locks, he even ſhaved his beard. His queen *Eleanor* of *Acquitaine*, gay, volatile, and ſportive, rallied him on his ſhort hair and ſmooth chin. He replied with great ſolemnity, that theſe were matters too ſacred to be jeſted with. When once a woman born with the ſlighteſt tendency to gallantry beholds her huſband in a ridiculous light, ſhe ſoon yields to ſeduction. *Eleanor* liſtened with pleaſure to the amorous thapſodies of the prince of *Antioch*. Louis perceived it, and repented bringing her into *Syria*. After their return from the cruſade, he reproached her with bitterneſs—ſhe anſwered with haughtineſs; and, at the concluſion of their converſation, propoſed a divorce; adding, ſhe had a juſtifiable plea to demand, one for the impoſition put upon her, for ſhe expected to have married a king, but they had eſpouſed her to a monk. Unfortunately this royal pair grew more and more diſſatisfied with each other, and procured a diſſolution of their marriage. In ſix weeks *Eleanor* married Henry, duke of Normandy, and earl of *Anjou*, who afterwards aſcended the throne of England, and brought him *Poitou* and *Guienne* for a nuptial dower. Hence the ſource of thoſe wars that deſolated *France* for three hundred years! An archbiſhop is in a paſſion with long locks—a king cuts off his hair, and ſhaves his chin—his wife deſpiſes him for doing it—and more than three million of *Frenchmen* are ſlaughtered by the ſword!

Mezerai, T. II. p. 103

On twelfth day, 1521, *Francis* I. received a wound on his head from the accidental fall of a rocket from a window. This misfortune made it

it neceſſary to cut his hair; and fearing it might give him a monkiſh appearance to wear the hood then in faſhion, with a ſhaven crown, and no beard, he invented the hat, and revived long beards; a mode that continued uninterruptedly under *Henry* II. *Francis* II. *Charles* IX. and *Henry* III.

Francis Olivier, afterwards chancellor, in the year 1536, was refuſed a ſeat in parliament as maſter of requeſts, with permiſſion to ſpeak in the houſe, unleſs he would part with his beard. *Peter L'Eſcot* being appointed a canon of *Notre Dame*, 1556, the chapter inſiſted, very ſtrenuouſly, on the like reſignation; and though it at length conſented to his admiſſion without that ceremony, obſerved it was *derogatory to the eccleſiaſtical ſtatutes*. Theſe two inſtances prove the univerſality of beards in *France*, at this period, except among the clergy and magiſtracy. "What a droll appearance, ſays the *Abbé* St. *Real*, muſt the court of Francis I. have made? The young nobility and officers of the army, with beards of an enormous length, whilſt Meſſieurs of the long robe had their chins as ſmooth and as ſmug as the favourites of *Henry* III." The Abbé is miſtaken in his compariſon; for the dukes of *Joyeuſe* and *Epernon*, *Quelus*, St. *Maigrin*, and the reſt of *Henry*'s minions, were none of them ſhaved, but wore their beards long, as in the preceding reigns. In regard to the parliament, this reflection naturally ariſes: we have ſeen that *Louis* VII. exterminated beards, and that *Francis* I. renewed them.—The parliament thought it unbecoming their dignity to conform to this new court regulation. Such a conformity would have been affecting to look like courtiers—— and in thoſe days, a magiſtrate who affected the air of a courtier, or was frequently ſeen in the drawing-room, was conſidered as already bought by the miniſtry, or as offering himſelf to ſale. Some of Henry II's council having repreſented to the great chamberlain, that certain members of the parliament were aſſiduous in their viſits at the Louvre, an order was made, that ~~no member~~ ſhould attend the court or its miniſters without leave from the houſe; "Leſt courtiers ſhould be found among the magiſtrates, as well as magiſtrates among the courtiers."

The diminution of beards took place under *Henry* IV. They were reduced to three inches perpendicular, peaked at the chin, and rounded off from the cheek, leaving a magnificent pair of muſtachoes, reſembling the whiſkers of a cat. By degrees, theſe muſtachoes alone were retained, and a ſmall tuft of hair in the middle of the chin, and along the under lip. *Marſhal de Baſſompiere* declared, that all the alteration

he obſerved in the world, after twelve years impriſonment, was that men had loſt their beards, and horſes their tails. The royal muſtachoes, as they were called, continued faſhionable in the reign of *Louis* XIV.

When *peaked* beards were the mode, a compoſition of odoriferous wax was applied to preſerve them in nice order, and colour them as the wearer pleaſed. They were carefully dreſſed every night; and, to prevent their being ruffled, encloſed in a *bigotelle*, [e] a kind of bag, contrived for that purpoſe.

Of publick Entertainments and Diverſions.

THE magnificence of the monarchs of *France* was ſumptuouſly diſplayed in certain aſſemblies, called grand court feſtivals, held twice a year, at Eaſter, All Saints, or Chriſtmas—where all the nobility of the kingdom were invited. The feſtivity laſted a week; and the king, arrayed in all the pomp of majeſty, never took off his crown till he went to reſt. He eat in publick with the lords ſpiritual and temporal; whilſt the conſtable of France, and other great officers of ſtate ſerved the diſhes. "At the coronation feaſt of Charles VI. (ſays Froiſſart) the dukes of *Brabant*, *Anjou*, *Berri*, *Burgundy*, and *Bourbon* (the king's uncles) were ſeated at the lower end of the table, and the archbiſhop of Rheims, with ſome other dignified prelates, ſat at his right hand. The Sieurs de *Couie*, *Cliſſon*, *Tremouille*, the lord high admiral, &c, riding on horſes covered with cloth of gold, ſerved up the dinner." Each courſe was ſet on to the ſound of flutes and hautboys; during the deſert, twenty heralds at arms advanced, bearing goblets filled with ſilver and gold medals, which they ſcattered amongſt the crowd, crying—*The king's largeſs*.

Vol. II. Chap. 6.

At the feaſt of *Pentecoſt*, 1315, *Philip the Fair* conferred the honour of knighthood on his three ſons, with all the ceremonies of ancient chivalry. The king and queen of *England*, with a train of barons, complied with the invitation of *Philip*, to be preſent at this grand inſtallation, which continued eight days, and was eminently ſuperb and delightful, from the magnificent dreſſes, ſumptuous banquets, and an amazing variety of amuſements. The princes and nobles appeared in new dreſſes three times every day. Theatrical interludes were repreſented by the *Pariſians*, ſuch as the glory of the bleſſed—or the torments of the damned. Theſe were ſucceeded by the proceſſion of *Reynard*, which was a march of animals.

It

[e] The purſe that the monks wear at their girdle, to gather alms, is called le bigotelle.

Is it to be credited, that in ſeveral cathedrals an aſs was carried in proceſſion annually? The ſub-deacons and choriſters firſt decorating the beaſt with a fine mantle, received him at the church-porch, chanting forth a ridiculous anthem, of which one verſe run;——

"The clergy become enriched by the virtues of aſſes."

Aurum de Arabia.
Thus & Myrrham de Saba,
Tulit Eccleſia,
Virtus Aſinaria.

MSS. of Baluze in the royal library —Regiſter of the cathedral of Autun. Anecdotes towards a hiſtory of the feaſt of fools.

But to return to the court feſtivals; they had, by way of interlude, in the banqueting room perſpective deſerts repreſenting cities, caſtles, and gardens, with fountains playing different kinds of liquors. At a feſtival entertainment given by *Charles* V. to the emperor *Charles* IV. 1378, the company repaired after maſs through the gallery *des Merciers*, into the great hall, where the tables were ſpread. The *French* monarch placed himſelf between the emperor and the king of the *Romans*. There were three large ſide-boards; the firſt furniſhed with gold plate, the ſecond with ſilver, and the third with ornamental goblets and vaſes enriched with jewels. [*f*] Towards the cloſe of the entertainment, the *entremet*, or perſpective deſert was introduced. A magnificent barge completely rigged, came under full ſail, by means of concealed ſprings, into the midſt of the hall; her ſtreamers adorned with the arms of the city of Jeruſalem; Godfrey of Boulogne, diſtinguiſhable on the deck, accompanied by ſeveral knights armed at all points. In a moment the city of Jeruſalem is diſcovered—her towers covered with Saracens. The barge anchors—the Chriſtians land, and begin the aſſault—the beſieged make a gallant defence—many ſcaling ladders are overturned, but at length the city is taken.——To conclude the repaſt, water was brought to the gueſts; the king and emperor waſhed in the ſame ewer. Laſtly, according to ancient uſage, they were regaled with ſweetmeats and ſpices.

Chriſtine de Piſan, c 41. Part III.

Charles IX. was entertained at dinner by a gentleman in the neighbourhood of Carcaſſone; and, at the end of the banquet, the cieling opened to make way for a thick cloud to deſcend, which burſting over the

[*f*] Some of the cuſtoms of *grand court feſtivals* ſtill ſubſiſt at coronations, weddings, chriſtenings, and inſtallations of princes of the blood. Theſe ceremonies did not fail to collect a poſſe of buffoons, juglers, rope-dancers, and pantomime performers.—The merry andrews diverted the company with facetious tales; the juglers played on the cymbal, whilſt apes, dogs, or bears danced to their muſick; and of the pantomimical actors it is aſſerted they were ſo excellent in their art, as by their geſtures, attitudes, and action, to expreſs any hiſtorical epiſode as intelligibly and pathetically as could have been done by narration.

the heads of the company like a ſtorm of thunder, poured forth a ſhower of ſugar plumbs inſtead of hail—ſucceeded by a gentle rain of roſe-water.

When a monarch paſſed through any part of his dominions, his ſubjects endeavoured, as at preſent, to teſtify their joy, and diſplay their ingenuity in a multiplicity of allegorical devices. [g] At Tournay, when Louis XI. entered the city in 1463, the moſt beautiful girl in the place deſcended by a machine from the top of the gate, and reverently addreſſed his majeſty——Throwing open her robe, ſhe diſcovered a curious heart on the left ſide, from whence ſprung a gold flower *de lys*, an offering from the city to the king. In preſenting it, the damſel expreſſed herſelf thus; "Sire, this city is a virgin, like myſelf, that never has ſubmitted to a conqueror, nor ever rebelled againſt the monarchs of France——Her citizens all wear in their heart the flower *de lys*.

Monſtrelet, vol. 3. p. 101.

Tiltings, tournaments, and balls after ſupper, were the conſtant diverſions of *the court feſtivals*. At that given at Milan, 1501, by Louis XII. the balls were very ſplendid, and the cardinals of Narbonne and St. Severin were amongſt the dancers.

Life of cardinal Ambroſe.

It is reported by cardinal Palavicine, that when the fathers were aſſembled at the council of Trent, 1562, one of their conſultations ended in giving a ball to Philip II. of Spain—That all the ladies of the city were invited—The cardinal of Mantua opened the ball—and Philip, and the fathers of the council danced the whole evening.

St. Ronauld's chron. abridg. of the order of St. Bernard.

Another amuſement was combats of wild beaſts. The monk of St. Gal has a ſtory of an engagement in the abbey court of *de Ferrieres*, between a lion and a bull, in the preſence of *Pepin the Short*; who, ſenſible that ſome of his nobles had made his diminutive figure the conſtant ſubject of their raillery, demanded who of the company found himſelf inſpired with ſufficient reſolution to ſeparate, or kill thoſe terrible animals? Finding no one advanced, but on the contrary all trembled at the very propoſition, well, ſaid the king, I perceive I muſt be the man! Inſtantly drawing his ſword, he ſprung from his ſeat, ſlew the lion with the firſt ſtroke, and with the ſecond extended the bull at his feet; then caſting a diſdainful look on the diſmayed wits, "Learn, "ſaid he, that courage is not to be meaſured by ſtature—and that like "little David who ſubdued the mighty Goliah, I am able to cruſh "thoſe

[g] Tournay, which France made a voluntary ceſſion of to the houſe of Auſtria, was the aſylum of Frenchmen and of monarchy, in the time of the Gauls.

"thoſe inſolent men who ſhall dare to deride my perſon!" The truth of this extraordinary fact appears to have been generally believed when the church of *Notre Dame* was founded, as the ſtatue of this monarch killing a lion, is carved on the portico.

When Francis I. was at *Amboiſe*, among other diverſions for the ladies, he ordered an enormous wild boar, caught in the foreſt, to be let looſe in the court before the caſtle. The beaſt, enraged by the ſmall darts and wiſps of ſtraw thrown at him from the windows, ran furiouſly up the grand ſtair-caſe, and burſt open the door of the ladies' apartment. Francis called to his officers not to attack him, and waited deliberately to receive him with the point of his hanger, which he dextrouſly plunged between his eyes; and, with a forcible graſp, turned the boar upon his back. This prince was not then above one-and-twenty. Hiſtorical MSS. of la Touraine in the royal library.

Of JESTERS.

THERE is a letter preſerved among the archives of *Troye* in *Champagne*, from *Charles* V. acquainting the mayor and corporation, "his fool was dead, and deſiring them, conformably to eſtabliſhed cuſtom, to provide him another." Our monarchs beſtowed honourable employments on ſome of their fools; and what is very extraordinary, erected mauſoleums to their memory. It is regiſtered in the chamber of accounts that this very *Charles* V. ſo renowned for wiſdom, raiſed a tomb for one of his jeſters in the church of St. *Germain de l'Auxerrois*, and to another in that of St. *Maurice de Senlis*. *Sauval* has left a deſcription of this latter monument: it was of free-ſtone, eight feet and half in heighth, by four and half in breadth. A man in a recumbent poſture, dreſſed in a long garment, was carved in alabaſter, with a cap and feather on his head, a looſe cloak on his ſhoulder, two purſes hanging at his girdle, and a bell in his hand. The tomb was ornamented round with a number of ſmall figures in niches, executed with incredible labour and delicacy. This was the epitaph.——"Here lies *Thevenin de* St. *Leger*, jeſter to our lord the king, who died July the 11th, in the year of *Chriſt* 1374. Pray for his ſoul."

Of FUNERALS.

BUT before I ſpeak of thoſe, I will ſay a word or two of chriſtenings. Adult perſons, as well as children, were cloathed in white veſtments at their baptiſm, and wore them for eight days ſucceſſively. Queen *Clotilda*, ſays *Gregory* of *Tours*, was delivered of a ſon, named *Ingomer*:

Ingomer: he lived but a few days, and had not yet laid aſide the white baptiſmal robe——The churches were alſo hung with white on ſuch ſolemnities.

The monk of *St. Gal* relates that *Louis the Debonair*, and the lords of his court, following the royal example, made rich preſents to ſuch Normans as ſolicited to be received into the church. That one year theſe pyrates came in ſo great ſwarms at Eaſter, there was not a ſufficient number of white habits for the cuſtomary preſents. A ſupply was ordered to be procured with all expedition. One Norman lord, examining the habit he had been preſented with, threw it from him, ſwearing that this was at leaſt the twentieth time he had been baptized, and he never had ſo ordinary a dreſs offered him before! Such are, unfortunately, the greater part of thoſe converſions the miſſionaries glory in ſo much.

The font for baptizing the children of the royal family of *France*, is kept in the chapel of Vincennes. It is of copper, in the ſhape of a large antique vaſe, plated with ſilver figures, ſo artfully inlaid, that the copper is ſcarcely diſcernible. *Godfrey* ſays, this font was fabricated in 897, but he is miſtaken; it was made for the chriſtening *Philip Auguſtus*—born Auguſt 12, 1166.

When *Louis* XIV. was chriſtened, the king his father granted permiſſion to all perſons under proſecution for actions, not in their own nature criminal, to return into their native country; but their pardon was not to be confirmed till they had previouſly ſerved three months in ſome regiment, at their own expence. A hundred of theſe unhappy men, who formed themſelves into a company, were cut in pieces, in attacking a work at the ſiege of *Briſae*.

B. 2. c. 35.

Let us now return to funeral rites. Gregory of Tours mentions *Alaric*, king of the Goths, writing theſe words to *Clovis*. "If my *brother* approves it, we will have an interview." This ſhews the cuſtom of monarchs ſtiling each other brethren, to be very ancient; but they did not put on mourning at their deceaſe, unleſs nearly related.

Fredegonde ordered an obſervation of the ſame ceremonies at the funeral of *Clodebert*, her eldeſt ſon, as were paid to kings. The nobility of both ſexes attended the proceſſion in deep mourning, their hair diſhevelled, and ſprinkled with aſhes.

The tombs of the kings of the *firſt race*, beginning with *Clovis*, conſiſted only of one large ſtone hollowed very deep, covered with another, arched in the ſame manner; the outſide unornamented with carving

carving or epitaphs. It was within that they engraved inſcriptions, and were profuſely magnificent. [b]

The tomb of *Childeric* II. was diſcovered in the abbey of St. *Germain des Prés*, 1646. Swords, poniards, a belt, part of a diadem of gold—a claſp 8 ounces weight of the ſame metal—a cryſtal vaſe filled with perfumes, that ſtill retained part of their fragrance; and ſeveral ſquare pieces of ſilver impreſſed with the figure of the [i] *amphiſbain ſerpent*, probably to indicate that this prince loſt his life by treachery, were the contents of the monument. A *French* nobleman, whom he had treated with indignity, ſtabbed *Childeric*, his queen, and ſon, in the foreſt of *Liori*. Epitaphs ſeem to have been in faſhion with the *ſecond race* of kings. *Eginard* has tranſmitted that of Charlemagne in the church of *Notre Dame* at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, where he was depoſited. There is great ſimplicity in the turn of it.

"Here lies the body of *Charles*, the great and orthodox emperor. He gloriouſly extended the monarchy of *France*, and reigned happily forty-ſeven years. He died January 28th, in the year 814, aged 72."

After the ceremony of embalming had been performed, the body of this monarch was ſeated in a vault upon a throne of gold. I believe this the only inſtance in *Europe* [k] of ſuch an interment. He was arrayed in his imperial robes, over others of hair cloth, his ſword girded to his ſide. He ſeemed to liſt his eyes towards heaven, and his head was adorned with a chain of gold, wrought into the form of a diadem. In one hand he held a golden globe—the other reſted on the goſpel of *Chriſt*, which was placed on his knee. His gold ſceptre and buckler were hanging on the wall. The vault was filled with aromatic perfumes, and rich ornaments—it was then cemented and ſealed up. Formerly the man was ſumptuouſly dreſſed within a plain and ſimple tomb —now his monument is ſuperbly decorated, whilſt the poor inmate is wrapt only in a ſhroud!

Joyeux.

Charlemagne, according to the annals of that time, had the body of *Rolando*, who was ſlain at *Roncevaux* in 778, embalmed with aloes, and other odoriferous gums. His funeral obſequies were ſolemnized by the miniſters of the holy church, which was magnificently illuminated. The body placed on a gilded bier, and covered with rich ſilk,

[b] In the 19th chapter of the ſalique laws, article 11, whoever unburies a corpſe in order to ſtrip it, is interdicted from fire and water. His wife is forbidden to aſſiſt, or cohabit with him, till he makes ſuch ſatisfaction as the friends of the deceaſed ſhall demand. Slaves, or perſons hired for the office, watched the publick cimetaries, as well as private tombs.

[i] This ſerpent has a ſecond head in place of a tail, and is the emblem of treaſon.

[k] Travellers ſpeak of certain nations in America who bury their dead in this poſture.

was drawn by two mules to the city of Bloye, and honourably interred, with his ſword *durandana* laid at his head, and his *olifant* [*l*] at his feet: the one dedicated to the glory, the other emblematical of the mighty proweſs of *Rolando*.

D. Boug. T. 7. p. 307.

At the funeral of *Philip Auguſtus*, a contention aroſe between cardinal *Conrade*, the pope's legate, and *William*, archbiſhop of *Rheims*, about the honour of celebrating high maſs. To compromiſe this diſpute, they agreed to ſing in concert at two different altars, and that the prelates, prieſts, and monks, with the reſt of the congregation, ſhould make their reſponſes as if only one had officiated.

Rigaud, p. 266. Hiſt. of Paris, T. 1. p. 268.

St. *Louis* had his ſon's corpſe, who died at the age of ſixteen, carried firſt to St. *Denis*, and from thence to the abbey of *Royamount*, where it was interred. The firſt peers of the realm ſupported the coffin on their ſhoulders: and *Henry* III. of England, being at Paris, helped to bear it a conſiderable time, as a feudatory to the crown. (*William Nangie*'s chronicle, p. 371.)

Philip III. conveyed his father, St. *Louis*'s bones, from the gate of the church of *Notre Dame* to St. *Denis*, attended by the archbiſhops, biſhops, and abbots, the mitre on their heads, and the crucifix in their hand. They erected a croſs at every reſting place, ſeven in number—ſome are ſince decayed; the firſt was near the ſociety of St. *Chaumont*. Theſe were ſmall ſtone pyramids, adorned with ſtatues of the three laſt monarchs, terminating in a crucifix.

Philip the Fair firſt made the parliament of *Paris* a permanent body: from that period it claimed the honour of bearing the deceaſed ſovereign, or ſupporting the four corners of his pall. King John's body was carried by his parliament, as had been cuſtomary on the like occaſions. The corpſe of *Jane* of *Bourbon*, wife to *Charles* V. ſays the ſame authority, was laid on a bed of gold brocade, with a coverlid of the ſame. Her head-dreſs ſhaded her face, without concealing it. In her right-hand ſhe held a ſmall cane, the head ornamented with a roſe; in her left a ſceptre. The provoſt and magiſtrates of *Paris* bore a crimſon canopy, ſupported by pikes; the parliament ſurrounded the bed, the four preſidents holding the corners of the coverlid.

Chron. of St. Denis.

Charles VI's funeral was the firſt inſtance of the ſubſtitution of an effigy in wax [*m*], in place of the deceaſed monarch, who reſted peaceably in his coffin. Since that time, there does not ſeem to have been any material

Hiſt. of the abbey of St. Denis, by Felibien, B. 5. p. 289.

[*l*] A ſmall horn, which the palladins, and knights-errant ſounded to bid the enemy defiance.

[*m*] When his phyſicians had pronounced the king totally void of life, an impreſſion of his face was immediately taken in wax, to preſerve the reſemblance in perfection. Many of theſe effigies are ſtill to be ſeen in the abbey of St. Denis.

material alteration in the ceremonies obſervable at royal funerals. [n]

At the funeral obſequies of *Charles* VIII. the chancellor of the univerſity of *Paris* offered the whole body of ſtudents to march in proceſſion, to the amount of twenty-five thouſand; but as ſo great a train was thought incommodious, the graduates in each profeſſion were appointed, and theſe amounted to four or five thouſand.———Then marched the *hanouars*, twenty-four in number, who ſupply the city with ſalt, and claimed the privilege of bearing the king's body to the croſs of St. *Denis*. They were told the gentlemen of the bedchamber requeſted to bear it, without any intention of injuring the claim of the *hanouars*. . . . .

The foundation of this privilege does not appear. I ſhould apprehend, that when the art of embalming bodies was loſt, they endeavoured to ſupply its uſe by a preparation of ſalt; after firſt diſſecting, and boiling them in water * till the fleſh [o] ſeparated. Probably, the dealers in ſalt were employed as undertakers, in theſe diſagreeable and ſavage operations; and ſo obtained the honour of bearing thoſe ſad remains that vanity ſtrove to ſave from annihilation. . . . . Then followed ſixteen gentlemen of the king's bedchamber, with the litter, or ſtate bed, which was a matraſs, covered with a fine holland ſheet, a black velvet coverlid, fifty ells in length, and another twenty-five ells long, of gold ſtuff. On this bed was laid the king's effigy in wax, with the crown on its head, the ſceptre and ſword of juſtice in its hands. The buſkins were of ſilver ſtuff, embroidered with gold, and crimſon ſattin ſhoes. A pillow of gold ſtuff ſupported the head and feet. It was dreſt in a ſhirt of the fineſt lawn, over that a waiſtcoat of crimſon ſattin, the ſleeves concealed by a blue ſattin tunick, trimmed with a deep gold and ſilver fringe, and embroidered with gold flower *de lys*; the ſleeves of the tunick reached only to the elbow. The upper garment was a royal mantle of violet colour ſhaded with crimſon, grounded alſo with lilies: this mantle had no ſleeves, was open before, and bordered with a double row of ermine, as was the cape which turned over, about ten inches broad. The coffin, which encloſed the

See funeral proceſſions of Louis XII. Francis I. Henry II. Charles IX. Henry IV.

[n] *Charles* VII's coffin was made of cypreſs. The church of *Notre Dame* was hung with cloth of a blue-green colour. The abbeſs of *Montmarte*, and her nuns went out of their convent to meet the proceſſion at La Chapelle. (— *Monſtrelet*) Matthieu de Conie.

* They religiouſly obſerved to pour this water into holy ground.

[o] Henry V. king of England, and *nominal* king of France, dying at Vincennes, Aug. 1422, his body was diſſected, and boiled in a cauldron, till his fleſh divided from the bones—the water was thrown into a cimetary; the bones and fleſh put into a led coffin with odoriferous herbs, ſpices, and perfumes. (J. Juvenal M. Des Urſins.)

real body, was generally placed under the bed of ſtate, though ſometimes it was conveyed in a chariot drawn by ſix horſes.

.... Four preſidents *a mortier*, dreſt in their robes, held the corners of the coverlid of the ſtate bed; and the members of the parliament, in ſcarlet, walked on each ſide. The pall was ſupported by the provoſt and magiſtrates of the city; the maſter of the horſe bearing the royal ſword in a ſcarf, preceded the ſtate-bed: he was mounted on a courſer, capariſoned with black velvet, having on his breaſt a large white ſattin croſs. Before the earl marſhal, was led the *horſe of honour* by two eſquires on foot, bareheaded and dreſt in mourning. The ſaddle was blue velvet, with capariſons of the ſame, ſtudded with gold flower *de lys*; ſtirrups gilt; four grooms in mourning walked on each ſide

I cannot help diſcerning a great ſimilitude between this *horſe of honour*, the bare-headed eſquires, and attendant grooms, and thoſe horſes and domeſticks who were ſlain and buried with the kings of the *firſt race*, before the introduction of Chriſtianity. This will, I believe, appear leſs extraordinary, when I have recited ſome inſtances that prove horſes to have been frequently dedicated to the church. In a tranſaction which paſſed in 1329 between the miniſters of *Paris*, and thoſe of the church of St. *Sepulchre*, it was agreed that perſons on their death-bed ſhould be at liberty to chooſe this church for the place of their interment, on condition of being firſt carried to the parochial church; and that the pariſh-prieſt received a moiety of ſuch horſes, trophies, and tapers, as were preſented as offerings at St. *Sepulchre*'s. The continuation of *Naugis*' hiſtory, takes notice of *Edward* III's preſenting a magnificent offering at the funeral of king John [*p*], who died at *London*, in which ſeveral horſes of great price were included. They were capariſoned in black, embroidered with the arms of *France*.

At the funeral of Bertrand Dugueſclin at St. Denis, 1389, by order of *Charles* VI. the biſhop of Auxerre, who celebrated maſs on that occaſion, came down from the altar after reading the goſpel, and placing himſelf at the door of the choir, gave admittance to four knights completely armed in the armour of Dugueſclin, whoſe repreſentatives they were. Four other knights ſucceeded, bearing his ſtandard, mounted on horſes in black capariſons, adorned with eſcutcheons. Theſe (ſays the hiſtorian) were the fineſt courſers in the king's ſtables. The biſhop denoted his acceptance, by laying his hand on their forehead; after this ceremony they were led away. It was, however, neceſſary to compound

[*p*] Offerens pro eo multos equos inſignitos armis Franciæ cum equitibus. (Naugis.)

pound with the abbey, to which, by canon law, they of right devolved. The conſtable *de Cliſſon*, and the marſhals *Louis de Saucerre*, and *Mouton de Blainville* made their offerings; likewiſe accompanied by eight lords, each bearing a ſhield with the arms of the deceaſed. The duke of *Touraine*, the prince of *Navarre*, and *Henry*, duke of *Bar*, with drawn ſwords reverſed, marched next in order; then followed four noblemen, dreſſed in armour, attended by eight young eſquires, who carried caſques, enſigns, and banners, with the arms of *Dugueſclin* emblazoned. The proceſſion, ſplendidly illuminated with wax tapers, approached the altar; and, falling proſtrate, depoſited thereon the *trophies of honour*. That theſe were traditional ceremonies, cannot be doubted. Both *Cæſar* and *Tacitus* inform us, that the *Germans* and *Gauls* burnt or buried with the dead warrior his horſe and arms. The *Druids* might certainly have exerted their influence to prevent the ſlaughter of ſo many poor horſes; and, at the ſame time, have gained an acceſſion of wealth to themſelves. Could it be the darkneſs of Paganiſm that rendered ſelf-intereſt ſo undiſcernible?

The death of *Louis* XIII. which happened at St. *Germain's en laye*, occaſioned his interment to be more private. The body was not removed to *Paris*; it was unattended with that vaſt concourſe of people, and thoſe external marks of grandeur, ſo ſtriking in the funeral pomp of his predeceſſors; but in other reſpects, the ſame ceremonies were obſerved. When maſs was concluded, the maſter of the ceremonies directed the firſt preſident, with thoſe of *Novion*, *Meſmes*, and *Bailleul* to bear the pall. A lieutenant, and exempt of the Scotch guards, at the head of a party of twenty-five men, conveyed the body into the vault; then the king at arms advanced to the door, and throwing in his helmet and coat of mail, proclaimed aloud, "Heralds at arms of France, appear and perform your offices." All having thrown their armour into the vault, he commanded the herald of Orleans to enter and range *the trophies of honour* on the coffin - - - - - - - - The dukes of *Loynes*, *Ventadour*, and *Uzez* carried the crown, ſceptre, and ſword of juſtice upon black velvet ſtools, which were received by the king at arms on a ſilk carpet. The heralds placed theſe likewiſe on the coffin; the royal ſword, and banner of *France* were only inclined towards the vault by the earl marſhal and great chamberlain. Sixteen nominal ſtewards of the houſehold having caſt their ſtaffs, covered with crape, into the vault, the duke *de la Tremouille* performed the office of lord high ſteward of the houſehold for the prince of *Condé*. Holding the point of his wand within the tomb, he proclaimed aloud—"*The king*

ing aloud, "*This is the helmet—buckler—belt—&c. of a traitor.*" The laſt pſalm being ſung, a baſon of ſcalding water was poured over his head: he was brought down from the ſcaffold, bound, and faſtened on a bier, the pall thrown over him, and carried to church, where twelve prieſts ſang, *Deus laudem meam netacueris*, a pſalm fraught with dreadful imprecations againſt traitors. He was then ſuffered to depart, and ſurvive his diſhonour.

Of INCENSE.

ON the 18th of October 1615, *Philip* of *Spain* was affianced by his proxy the duke of *Guſe*, to *Elizabeth* of *France*, in the metropolitan church of St, *Andrew* at *Bordeaux*. Incenſe was offered at the altar to the cardinal de Sourdis, but not to the duke. His majeſty's chaplains obſerving there had been inſtances of poiſon by fumigation; and that, when the monarch is preſent in perſon, incenſe, even before the altar, ought to be omitted.

MSS. in the royal library.

At the nuptials of Louis XIII. and Anne of Auſtria, ſolemnized in the ſame cathedral, the November following, by the biſhop of Xaintes, incenſe was entirely omitted. The Sieur de Boulogne, the oldeſt chaplain, ſaid he remembered to have ſeen incenſe burnt before the king, but always at a conſiderable diſtance. (Ibid.)

When that prince made his entry into Troyes, January 25, 1629, Meſſieurs the preſident and ſub-dean ſtood at the door of the cathedral, with lighted tapers in their hands, but no perfumes. (Ibid.)

Of CONSTABLES *of* FRANCE.

France has ſeen four conſtables of the houſe of *Montmorency*. *Matthew* in 1139; another *Matthew* in 1218; *Anne* in 1538, and Henry de Montmorency 1593. *Matthew* married *Alicia* of *Savoy*, widow of *Louis le Gros*; and *Henry*, when extremely young, and only duke *D' Amville*, might have eſpouſed *Mary Stuart*, queen of *Scotland*, and dowager to *Francis* II. had he not been pre-engaged. *Mary* ſo little concealed her attachment, and the pleaſure it would give her to offer her hand and crown to this nobleman, that a paraſite, who knew he was not fond of his wife, villainouſly offered his aſſiſtance to poiſon her. *Montmorency* ſtarting with horror at ſuch a propoſal, drove the monſter from his preſence.

Of

Of CHANCELLORS.

GUERIN, knight of the order of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem*, was appointed, in 1202, keeper of the ſeals, and in 1213, biſhop of *Senlis*. He planned the diſpoſition of the army under *Philip Auguſtus* at *Bovines*; and was made chancellor 1223. The chancellor was allowed no more than ſeven *ſols* a day, travelling charges, for himſelf and attendants; and even theſe ſeven *ſols* were deducted, if he lodged at an abbey, or any other place where hoſpitality prevented expence.

Peter Flote, chancellor, and keeper of the ſeals, loſt his life valiantly at the battle of *Courtray*, 1302.

In St. *Catherine*'s church, in the ſtreet of that name, is a monument erected to chancellor *Orgemont*, who died 1389. He is repreſented in armour, a ſword on, and a helmet at his feet.

When the count *de Dunois* made his entry into *Bourdeaux*, a white ſumpter mare was gently led by two grooms: her trappings were of crimſon velvet, and ſhe carried a blue velvet flag on her crupper, ſtudded with gold lillies; and on her ſaddle a coffer, covered likewiſe with blue velvet, enriched with curious workmanſhip, which contained the royal ſignet. *William Juvenal des Urſins*, chancellor of *France*, cloſed the proceſſion, armed with a ſteel corſlet curiouſly wrought; and over it a crimſon velvet robe. MSS. in the royal library, Bellefont, L. 5.

Peter de la Foreſt, after long purſuing the profeſſion of an advocate, was made biſhop of *Tournay* in 1349, and the ſame year chancellor of *France*; biſhop of *Paris* the year following, archbiſhop of *Rouen* in 1352, and cardinal in 1356. The ſalary annexed to the ſeals was then two thouſand franks, which he thought himſelf entitled to receive; the chamber of accounts refuſed payment, becauſe he was a biſhop; for the royal ordonnances ran in this manner: "That ſuch dignified prelates as held employments under the government, were deemed ſufficiently enabled to ſupport the additional expence by the revenues of their benefice." This archbiſhop, biſhop, and chancellor purchaſed the lordſhip and eſtate of Loupeland, in the province of Maine, 1352. As this was a noble manor, and could not remain in poſſeſſion of a *plebeian*, *Peter* was obliged to ſolicit a patent to ennoble him. La Roque, in his treatiſe on nobility, obſerves, that prelates, who are engaged in a perpetual war with the prince of darkneſs, in defence of our ſouls, ought to be equally entitled to perſonal nobility with thoſe officers in the army who are not gentlemen by birth, and fight in defence of their country. Chancellor du Prat, when he became a wi-

dower, ſought conſolation and riches from the church. He had the dioceſes of *Gap*, *Valence*, *Meaux*, and *Albe*, the archbiſhoprick of Sens, and a cardinal's hat. It is aſſerted by ſome writers, that at the death of *Clement* VII. he aimed at the papal chair; but *Francis* I. to whom he mentioned his deſign, told him it would be too expenſive; to which *Du Prat* replied, he was able to advance four hundred thouſand crowns. *Francis* was ſo enraged at his folly, that he ſent an order for the money the next morning, and placed it in the treaſury.

A chancellor never puts on mourning; for, as the ſervant of the publick, he ought to be inſenſible to all private affections, or afflictions.

The Chamber of ACCOMPTS.

PERSONS belonging to this office, formerly wore a large pair of ſciſſars at their girdle, to denote the power inveſted in them to cut off, or abridge exorbitant demands in the accompts they have a right to inſpect.

When the buſineſs of the grand council, the laſt term day in *Lent* is over, the preſident riſes, goes to the table of the maſter of the rolls, where he finds a box and dice; play begins ——— the dice box rattles, ſucceſſively, through the hands of counſellors, advocates, attorneys, bailiffs—and even of footmen, who continue playing till night. I have aſked ſeveral gentlemen of the law, what could be the derivation of this cuſtom? their anſwer was, that in *Henry* II's reign, the parliament publiſhed an arret, forbidding all perſons to play at *hazard*; and that the grand council ordained this annual dice-party to demonſtrate themſelves an independent body, not obliged to conform to parliamentary decrees. This account, I believe, will not appear more ſatisfactory to others, than it does to me; for the ordinary conſequences of gaming are certainly at leaſt as dangerous as thoſe that ariſe from places of publick proſtitution; yet not more than two hundred years ago, brothels were tolerated under the protection of the laws, and within the verge of the court, in *Paris*, and in all the large cities.——When the parliament iſſued a proclamation to aboliſh them, a ſet of judges, ſo reſpectable as Meſſieurs the grand council, would ſurely never have thought of licenſing one within the precincts of a court of judicature; nor have affected to ſeem the advocates of vice, by repairing collectively there on a particular day! My idea of this affair is, that when court fools were in faſhion, and had employments conferred on them in the houſehold, their ſtupidity rendered it neceſſary to refer their pecuniary rights to the care of the provoſt, and by appeal to the grand council. Some of theſe *fools*, either for

for their own diverſion, or that of other people, entered a proceſs, which the grand council probably adjourned the pleadings of, till the carnival, as I believe is ſtill the cuſtom, in proſecutions for eating fleſh in *Lent*. The preſident of the grand council, after hearing the advocates, plead a ridiculous cauſe, called for box and dice to determine the ſentence; my conjecture is at the reader's ſervice, and I confeſs, at the ſame time, is unſupported by proof.

Of FAIRS.

THERE are four fairs annually held at Paris; thoſe of St. *Germain*, St. *Laurence*, the *Temple*, and a fair for bacon, kept in the area of the church of *Notre Dame*. The advantages accruing from theſe fairs belong to certain eccleſiaſticks. Thoſe of St. *Germain* and St. *Laurence* are open for ſome weeks, and have always drawn together a promiſcuous croud of mountebanks, puppet-players, rope-dancers, and juglers. The lord of *Bethiſé* declared to *Blanche*, relict of *Philip* of *Orleans*, that according to a computation made in 1576, and other preceding years, the common women aſſembled at the fair of *Bethiſé*, paid him a quit-rent of four deniers a head; that this right amounted to ten *Pariſian ſols* annually, but had decreaſed in value more than half, from the thin appearance of thoſe unhappy wretches.

Of Publick THEATRES.

A tradeſman whom I conſtantly dealt with, preſſed me one day to retire with him into his back-ſhop, when he told me, that a diſſertation on theatrical entertainments he had juſt been reading, occaſioned great diſturbances in his mind concerning the innocence of his calling. He expreſſed himſelf with ſuch an air of terror and contrition, and ſolicited me ſo earneſtly to write a letter on the ſubject to the miniſter of his pariſh, that I conſented. This letter appeared in the annals of literature, publiſhed by Mr. Freron, 1752. p. 39. I have ſince beſtowed ſome alterations on it.

From a Silk Mercer,

To the Reverend ———, *Rector of* ———.

SIR,

I diſcover ſuch an alarming ſimilarity in the profeſſion of a comedian, and my own, that I cannot help fearing, though I obſerve the ſtricteſt probity in all my actions, my buſineſs ſhould, in its own nature, be an obſtacle to my ſalvation.

You invariably aſſert, that the theatre exhibits to our view the pride, ſplendor, pomp, and vanity of Satan, and this world: that it inſpires us with arrogance, and an immoderate paſſion for dreſs and extravagance; is an enemy to charity, humility, diſintereſtedneſs, and philanthropy. A mercer's ſhop, Sir, ſtands exactly in the ſame predicament. Luxury is the centre of the owner's wiſhes; all his ſchemes and views tend ſolely to procure its indulgence; and, by ingenious artifices, to awaken ſelf-love in the citizens, ſlaves to faſhions that impoveriſh them. I even apprehend the ſoul of a comedian to be in a leſs dangerous ſituation than mine; he feels no ſelf-reproach for families ruined—the moderate expence of paſſing an evening at the theatre, may ſometimes prevent a man's being drawn into amuſements deſtructive to his fortune, and peace of mind. Beſides, plays ridicule oſtentation, and inſolent vanity—laſh the prodigal, the fop, and the impertinent fool—whilſt, on the contrary, the tradeſman muſt flatter their vices, and even wiſh the progreſſive multiplication of them in every corner of Europe. What manor-houſes have fallen to decay—what eſtates have been mortgaged—how many children deſpoiled of their inheritances, becauſe their fooliſh fathers wanted to attract the admiration of the multitude by the falacious appearance of fine cloaths, and gaudy equipages! Victims of a childiſh and cruel vanity, the ſon of a gentleman is frequently depreſſed under the hardſhips of poverty, and its inſeparable companion, contempt.

Theſe are not the only evils which may be imputed to the tradeſman: indigent vanity becomes fertile in reſources. A young man who determines to make a conſiderable figure in the world, ſees the neceſſity of external magnificence: the narrowneſs of his fortune, or the prudent œconomy of a parent, reſtrains him from following the bent of his inclination—to gratify this, he is conſtrained to rob his father—— defraud his creditors, or have recourſe to a third method yet more ſcandalous—the high-way.

The traffick carried on by a ſilk-mercer you will, perhaps, tell me, is particularly authorized, becauſe a great number of perſons, by their birth, and ſtill more by the appearance their ſituation requires, are obliged to wear ſuch expenſive ſilks, the ſale of which I am fearful is deſtructive to my ſalvation! This conſideration, Sir, might reſtore my tranquillity, were there ſumptuary laws in *France*, as there are in ſome countries, to aſcertain the mode of dreſs, according to the rank of the perſon: but in *Paris*, and even in the provinces, opulence confounds

founds all diſtinction, and renders trade the immediate cauſe of every misfortune ariſing from immoderate luxury.

At the theatre, you exclaim, men are admitted for money to repreſentations of vice, adorned with the moſt flattering colours. Ah, Sir! is not my ſhop equally open for money to all cuſtomers? If I am unpractiſed in the criminal art of rendering vice amiable, I ſell the decorations for her temple! An elegantly-fancied ſilk is ſeldom the object of a young lady's wiſhes, but to occaſion her deſtruction.—Innumerable are the inſtances of women who live only to adorn their perſons——whoſe motive for adorning them is only to captivate—and who captivate, only to become the prey of ſeduction.

You inſiſt that plays are the rock young men are always wrecked upon; that the actreſs unites to talents irreſiſtibly inſinuating, the allurements of a figure that nature and art conſpire to render intereſting: her appearance awakens deſire, and an indulgence of deſire is the ruin of the virtuous man. But are there not far more threatening dangers at the entrance to a mercer's ſhop, in accoſting a beautiful, well-dreſſed woman, courting admiration by all the refinements of coquetry, and artfully ſpreading a net in which the wiſeſt and moſt rigid have more than once been entangled? A ſimple ticket is the only bait thrown out by the actor; a citizen is at liberty either to purchaſe it or not. Far more attractive are the temptations we employ! Enchanting ſyrens, deſignedly placed at the doors of our ſhops, and thoſe of all faſhionable tradeſmen, to invite cuſtomers by their engaging countenances—winning deportment, and pleaſing converſation. The miſguided paſſenger liſtens to the voice that raviſhes his ear, and if his amorous wiſhes are unattended with criminal conſequences; we at leaſt incur the guilt of purſuading him to expend, in uſeleſs and frivolous purchaſes, the patrimony of his children, and accumulated wages of his domeſticks.

Another point to the advantage of the theatre is, that thoſe gentlemen and ladies, who waſte their money every ſeaſon in new-faſhioned ornaments of dreſs, are leſs enabled to aſſiſt the poor, whilſt a part of theatrical collections is daily appropriated to their ſubſiſtence. I know very well, Sir, that the king is the protector of commerce, and therefore one would imagine his ſubjects might exert their induſtry, without moleſting their conſciences: but do not the ſalaries * publickly granted, prove that his majeſty likewiſe patronizes the ſtage—yet you anathematize the actors!

The

* The theatre royal is ſupported by the crown.

The taſte of our patterns in brocades, occaſions their ſale in all countries, and conſequently is an encreaſe of wealth to the kingdom. But how many millions has France accumulated by ſuch writers as Corneille, Racine, and Moliere! whoſe works are ſought with avidity by every nation in Europe! Thanks to the perfection of their genius, the French language is become univerſal, and our's the nation by which all others endeavour to form their manners! Since that epocha, foreigners finiſh their education at Paris, and laviſh there immenſe ſums of money.

You ſee, Sir, the player is as uſeful a member of ſociety as the tradeſman; and I think I have already proved the latter to be rather more inſtrumental in exciting, and agitating the paſſions of mankind than the former. Theſe reaſons have led me to conclude, that if the comedian is rejected from the congregation of the faithful, men of my profeſſion may juſtly apprehend themſelves in the ſame ſtate of reprobation. I muſt therefore entreat you to inform me, whether theſe ſcruples are well or ill-grounded; and if, conſiſtently with the duty of a Chriſtian, I ought to purſue, or renounce commerce. The truth is, Sir, I expect to be nominated ſheriff for the enſuing year; but, in the ſight of heaven, a ſheriff is no greater than another man; and what is all the glory of this world, when our eternal happineſs is at ſtake!—— I am, with the utmoſt reſpect, Sir,

Your moſt obedient, and moſt humble Servant,

M———.

Poſtſcript. I was at church laſt Sunday, when the daughters of the rich financier, M——, made their appearance. Their dreſs, though undoubtedly their father's wealth entitles them to the richeſt, cauſed a general murmur, ſucceeded by a loud chattering, exceedingly indecent in a place of divine worſhip. Pray obſerve, ſays one lady, they are as fine as princeſſes! It is only within theſe twenty years, ſays another, that I remember their father, who was a footman's ſon, a paltry clerk in an office, ſcarcely worth eight hundred franks!—*Do not you* think ſuch magnificence, cries a third, an inſult on the poverty and diſtreſs of the publick? In a word, Sir, I doubt whether the higheſt wrought ſcene of vice, in an immoral play, ever occaſioned more ſins, than the fine cloaths of theſe girls, by the ſlander and envy they kindled in the hearts of the congregation. I deliver the ſilks——the actor delivers his part—if he is culpable, can I be innocent?

The Hoſpital for INVALIDS.

IT always amazes me, that *Louis* XIV. when he planned this grand edifice, ſhould not include the idea of a mauſoleum, where the ſtatues of generals, who in his own reign, or thoſe of his ſucceſſors, glorioufly fought the battles of their country, might find a place. Where could they be interred more honourably, than amidſt veteran troops, companions of their dangers; who, like them, had been prodigal of their blood from the ſame laudable motive!

The Equeſtrian Statue of HENRY IV.

STATUES of the monarchs of *France*, to the days of *Louis* XIII. had always been placed on their tomb, or in the veſtibule of ſome church, or palace they had either built or repaired. The *equeſtrian* ſtatue of *Henry* IV. erected on the *Pont-Neuf* Auguſt 23, 1624, was the firſt, and moſt illuſtrious national monument, raiſed at Paris to the glory of a ſovereign. Unincumbered with military trophies——fettered ſlaves—and pompous inſcriptions, I cannot help wiſhing to have read, in ſimple characters, the name of *Henry* IV!

The Church of ST. PETER *of the* OXEN.

IN the reign of *Louis* XII. a certain ſcholar, whoſe name was *Hemon de la Foſſe*, born at *Abbeville*, from conſtantly reading and admiring the claſſicks, at length became ſo extravagantly abſurd as to believe that the religion profeſſed by men ſo ſuperior in genius as *Homer*, *Virgil*, and *Cicero*, muſt unqueſtionably be the true one. Under this prepoſſeſſion, he, on the 25th of Auguſt, 1503, entered the holy chapel, and ſnatched the *hoſt* from the hands of the prieſt, at the moment of *elevation*—crying out, "What is there no end of this folly?" He was ſeized and carried to priſon; his puniſhment was ſeveral days retarded, in expectation of his abjuring errors ſo prepoſterous—But in ſpite of remonſtrances, and exhortations, he perſiſted in aſſerting, that *Jupiter* was the ſovereign lord of the univerſe, and *elyſium* the only paradiſe. After having his tongue bored with a hot iron, and his right-hand cut off, he was burnt alive. I have heard it aſſerted, that at a ſolemn proceſſion made in atonement for this ſacrilegious action, two oxen leading to ſlaughter at the *Hotel Dieu*, paſt by the pariſh church of *St. Peter*, and perceiving the hoſt, kneeled down before it; and that the ſtone oxen, in baſs relief, on the ſides of the portal, were carved in commemoration of the miracle. What may more certainly be

be relied on is, that long before this proceſſion, the church was diſtinguiſhed by the title of St. *Peter* of the oxen, from being the parochial church of the city-butchers, who ornamented it with the enſigns of their trade.

The Church of St. MARINI.

PERSONS whom the law obliges to marry, are yoked together in this church. They formerly made uſe of a ſtraw ring on theſe occaſions; could it be intended to remind the huſband of the frailty of his wife? Such an inſinuation was neither polite nor charitable.

Of Convents of religious MENDICANTS.

1. Ep. to the Theſſal. c. 4. 11 v.

2 Ep. c. 3. v. 8 and 11.

"STUDY to be quiet, ſays St. *Paul*, and to do your own buſi-
"neſs, and to work with your own hands, as we commanded you."
"Neither did we eat any man's bread for nought, but wrought with
"labour and travel, that we might not be chargeable to any of you.—
"For even when we were with you, we commanded you that if any
"would not work, neither ſhould he eat." Albert, patriarch of Jeruſalem, in the inſtitutes he gave the Carmelites, about the year 1209, particularly recommended retirement, ſilence, and inceſſant labour.

I have laboured with my hands, ſays St. Francis in his Legacy, and I will continue to labour: I ſteadfaſtly deſire all thoſe of the fraternity to apply themſelves to honeſt induſtry, and ſuch as are ignorant how to work let them learn.

Fleury's eccleſiaſtical hiſtory for the year 1226.

We want ſumptuous ſtructures, ſaid St. Bonaventure, we are no longer contented with thoſe mean and ſimple cells, our order preſcribes .... we are become a burthen to mankind, and ſhall be yet more ſo in future ages, if our ſociety exiſts.

The wonderfull magick of the fairy wand in raiſing palaces, no longer appears fictitious, when we behold the efficacy of the *wallet*. *Lewis* XIV. from a conviction that the ſums expended by religious mendicants in new buildings, decorations of monaſteries, or in augmenting and improving their eſtates, were inconſiſtent with the ſanctity of their eſtabliſhments, as well as the policy of the ſtate, publiſhed an edict Sept. 5, 1684, forbidding them under penalty of the forfeiture of all their privileges, to undertake any edifice whoſe expence ſhould exceed 15000 livres, without permiſſion granted by letters patent, ſigned by the king, under-ſigned by one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, ſealed with the great ſeal, and regiſtered with the cuſtomary forms by the parliament. In buildings, whoſe amount was under the above-mentioned

tioned ſum, and upwards of three thouſand livres, an arret of parliament was to be firſt obtained. Is it not extraordinary, that we beſtow alms on theſe mendicants to enable them to build houſes, which they let at extravagant rents, whilſt the augmentation of their revenue ſerves only to encreaſe the votaries of celibacy, and of courſe to depopulate and ruin the ſtate! When the inhabitants of half a dozen villages are commanded by authority to repair ſome publick road, if ſixty or eighty mendicant friars from ſome neighbouring city would voluntarily offer to ſuſtain the toil, what veneration would it inſpire for their order! I ſhould be apt to think ſuch good works would be even more meritorious than walking bare-footed about the ſtreets.!

Pariſh Church of St. Côme.

In the year 1599, the marſhal *de Beaumonier* was hunting one day in the foreſt of *Maine*, when his ſervants brought a man of an extraordinary appearance, whom they had taken aſleep in a thicket. On his forehead grew two horns, exactly reſembling thoſe of a ram; his head was bald, and his beard red and woolly as ſatyrs are painted. His vexation at being expoſed to publick view in the neighbouring fairs and markets, was ſo extreme, that he lived only three months, and was buried in the church-yard of St. *Côme*. The turn of his epitaph has little to recommend it; but probably, at that time, did not want admirers. De Thou, p. 123.

Near this foot-worn path is laid,
A cuckold ſtrange, whom Nature made;
Horns he wore, yet had no wife;
Pray for his bliſs in future life.

Recueil de l'Epitaphs, p. 57.

The Chapel *dedicated to our Lady of* Loretto *at* Iſſi.

THE ſtudents of *S. Sulpicius* will not permit any periwigged prieſt to ſay *maſs* at the high altar in this chapel. Surely every altar, where our holy myſteries are celebrated, equally demands our reverence! and if wigs are not prohibited at one, why ſhould they be at another? Attention to ſuch trivial inſignificant marks of reſpect a unworthy of true religion!

The invention of wigs is very ancient. The *Phenicians*, at their annual ſolemnization of the death of Adonis, were obliged to ſacrifice their hair to the goddeſs *Derceto* (or *Venus*). The women, who were exceedingly tenacious of their fair treſſes, had the privilege of being excuſed this ſacrifice, if they ſubſtituted another to the gallant ſoli-

tations of thoſe ſtrangers who came in crouds to attend the feſtival. The price of their complaiſance appertained to the goddeſs, and was conſecrated to the uſe of her temple. To ſave the ladies from this dreadful alternative, ſome benevolent genius invented the wig; but the prieſts inveighed furiouſly againſt a faſhion ſo injurious to their intereſt, and the poor wig was interdicted.

Pariſh of St. PAUL.

WILLIAM DE VIENNE made it his dying requeſt to have theſe words engraved on his tomb—*The father of John de Vienne.* In reality, his paternal tenderneſs had reaſon to be flattered by the glory his ſon acquired on various occaſions. He was created admiral of *France* in 1373, by *Charles* V. The frequent deſcents he made on the coaſts of *England* and *Ireland* proved the truth of his maxim, "*That the Engliſh are never leſs powerful, or more eaſily conquered, than in their own territories.*" *John de Vienne* was killed the 26th of September, 1396, at the head of the *French* troops, in the unfortunate battle of *Nicopolis*, in *Bulgaria*.

Of NICHOLAS FLAMEL.

IN the firſt edition of theſe anecdotes, printed 1754, I have obſerved, that the figures of *Nicholas Pernelle* and his wife are ſtill remaining on a door-poſt, with ſome Gothic inſcriptions and hieroglyphicks. The author of an eſſay on the antiquities of the pariſh of St. *James de la Boucherie*, 1757, relates a circumſtance not eaſy to be accounted for. A perſon, ſays he, under a name he had undoubtedly uſurped, made his appearance in the veſtry, declaring himſelf commiſſioned by a deceaſed friend to employ a large ſum of money in works of piety: that conformably to his friend's intention, he deſigned to repair ſeveral old buildings, the property of the church, and particularly the corner houſe in *Marivaux* ſtreet, oppoſite to St. *James de la Boucherie*, which was greatly fallen to decay; and propoſed to expend three thouſand livres in the undertaking. The offer was thankfully accepted; reparation was the pretext; but the real object was to dig from the foundation ſome ſtones marked with characters. The perſons concerned in this affair, watched with conſtant aſſiduity over the workmen, would not ſuffer them to dig but in their preſence, and privately removed all thoſe ſtones that were carved, or engraved. The expence probably amounted to two thouſand livres, but the architect and his companions diſappeared, without any intention of payment; and,

and, in all likelihood, it will fall upon a maſter maſon, who inconſiderately contracted to work for men he did not know, and in vain endeavours to trace!

That theſe men were in ſearch of the philoſopher's ſtone, is no improbable conjecture, and I would recommend to the maſter maſon, to perſuade himſelf that whenever they ſhall ſucceed in their attempt, he may depend on liberal payment.

Hoſpital for PROSTITUTES.

I once heard a caſe of conſcience diſcuſſed concerning a fact, recorded by *Don Vincent Bacallar y Sanna*, marquis *de St. Philip*, in his memoirs towards a hiſtory of *Spain*, under *Philip* V. the ſtory is this. When the *Portugueſe* had declared for the arch-duke, and were encamped in the environs of *Madrid*, the courteſans of that city came to a reſolution in council, to teſtify their zeal for *Philip*. In conſequence of this ſtep, thoſe who were certain of communicating infection, repaired in the night to the *Portugueſe* camp; and, in leſs than three weeks, more than ſix thouſand of the enemy were removed to the hoſpitals, where moſt of them died.

The point debated was, whether theſe women were guilty of ſin in this voluntary proſtitution, or whether the turpitude of the action might not be corrected by the patriotiſm of the intention? The advocate for the ladies alledged, that ſince the rules of war admit of maſſacres, conflagrations, plunder, and every practicable method to diſtreſs and annoy the enemy, there is the ſtrongeſt reaſon to believe *infection* not excluded.

Pariſh of St. EUSTATIUS.

WITHIN theſe forty years, there was in the croſs-way, called *La Pointe St. Euſtace*, a large ſtone placed acroſs the common ſewer, which had the appearance of a little bridge, and was called *Le Pont Alais*, from one John Alais, who, in order to reimburſe himſelf for a ſum of money lent the crown, was the inventor and farmer of a penny tax upon every baſket of fiſh brought to the markets. He afterwards felt ſuch remorſe for this act of oppreſſion, that by way of expiation, he deſired to be buried under this ſtone, in the centre of the drain of all the markets. This monument obſtructed the paſſage of the water, and has been ſince taken away. But was there no houſe in Paris where it might have been removed with propriety, and placed in the court-yard with an inſcription by way of memento?

Guard-Houſe for the Muſqueteers.

A *Spartan*, boaſting to a ſtranger of the intrepidity with which the youth of *Sparta* fought, and expoſed their lives to every danger, I ſhould be more ſurprized, replied the ſtranger, if they did not ſeek death as a refuge from that ſevere diſcipline—that life of fatigue and labour which your republick exacts from her citizens. It can never be ſaid of Paris (as of *Lacedemon*) that it is deſtitute of amuſement—the ſeat of gloomy reflection—or that the uniform bravery of the *French* nobility is the effect of diſreliſh for an irkſome life.

The firſt regiment of muſqueteers, eſtabliſhed in 1622, diſtinguiſhed itſelf on every occaſion: it gained the paſs of *Suza*, forcing three entrenchments, ſword in hand. *Louis* XIII. was preſent on the ſpot, and ſaid, "what delighted him always in his muſqueteers, was that chearful activity with which they flew to obey the orders of their commander." The great *Condé*, who fought againſt the royal army at the battle of *Dunes*, charged the muſqueteers four times with a ſuperior body of troops, without being able to make the leaſt impreſſion.

The ſecond regiment was upon an unequal footing, till the year 1665, when the king made it a royal troop.

A war breaking out between *France* and *Spain* in 1667, occaſioned by the queen's *pretenſional rights* to *Franche Comté*, the muſqueteer-guard attended his majeſty into *Flanders*, and continued doing duty at all the ſieges, both as horſe and dragoons. At Liſle, particularly, they were ſent to attack the *half-moon* battery, which they carried in leſs than a quarter of an hour. Next day the governor ſounded a parley; and when the capitulation was ſigned, and the gates delivered up to the muſqueteers, he was aſtoniſhed to obſerve the troops chiefly compoſed of young men under twenty years of age. In 1668, the army marched into *Franche Comté*. *Dole* was the only city inclinable to ſupport a ſiege; but ſcarcely were the trenches opened before it, when thirty or forty muſqueteers threw themſelves into the covered way: the great *Condé* arrived at that inſtant, and obſerving that their raſh temerity had impoſed upon the enemy, who abandoned their works, he commanded a body of infantry immediately to ſupport them; and they ſucceeded in an attempt, whoſe bold imprudence was deſerving of death. *Dole* ſurrendered the next day.

(Journal of the conqueſt of *Franche Comté*, 1668.)

1669. *Louis* XIV. added a detachment of a hundred muſqueteers to the troops ſent into *Candia*.

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They were rendered remarkable by the ſtrongeſt efforts of valour, in a ſally made by the duke de *Noailles*, where the *Turkiſh* cavalry was entirely routed. Two days after, they defended the breach on the *Sabionnaire* ſide, and repulſed the *Turks* in every aſſault: two brigadiers were killed, and two quarter-maſters and thirty muſqueteers wounded.

1672. *Louis* declared war againſt *Holland*; and, on the 12th of June, the muſqueteers and other houſehold troops ſwam acroſs the Rhine.

1673. At the ſiege of *Maeſtricht*, the firſt regiment was ordered to attack the dry *half moon*, whilſt the ſecond endeavoured to carry the paliſadoes between the half moon and horned work. The ſignal was given; the troops marched; and, notwithſtanding the vigorous reſiſtance of the beſieged—the uninterrupted fire from their batteries—and the continual burſting of bombs under their feet——carried both works at the ſame time. The action of the next day was ſtill more lively and bloody. The *French*, thinking they had made a ſecure *lodgment*, returned to their camp, when ſuddenly the enemy played off a concealed battery from the half moon. There was reaſon to apprehend others might follow. Farjaux, the governor of Maeſtricht, taking advantage of this moment of conſternation, re-entered the work, after driving the *French* from it: the muſqueteers were again ordered to recover it: they did ſo, but not without a moſt bloody and obſtinate engagement, in which the count d'Artagnan, commandant of the firſt regiment, and thirty-ſeven muſqueteers were killed, beſides fifty-three wounded. Thoſe who ſurvived, ſays *Peliſſon*, had their ſwords bathed to the hilts in blood, and hacked with the ſtrokes they had given,

(The duke of *Monmouth*'s account of this ſiege to *Charles* II. from Miſcellaneous Tracts, v. i. p. 325.

Two ſtrong barricades, and an intrenchment round the church of St. Stephen, defended the approach to the citadel of Beſancon. May the 20th, 1674, at ten in the morning, the muſqueteers marched two hundred paces undiſcovered by the enemy, under the fire of their cannon and muſquetry, forced the barricades and entrenchments, and enabled their own engineers to effect a *lodgment* on the *glacis*.

April 21, 1676, *Louis* opened the campaign with the ſiege of Condé, one of the ſtrongeſt places in *Hainault*. The prince of *Orange* marched immediately to its relief. An inundation had rendered a communication with the French quarters extremely difficult to maintain; and their lines were ſo extenſive, it was impoſſible to defend them againſt even an inferior army; it appeared neceſſary, therefore, either to make a forced march, and attack the prince of Orange, or preſs the ſiege ſo vigorouſly,

vigorouſly, as to oblige the city to ſurrender before his arrival. The latter opinion prevailed, and in the night of the 25th, or 26th of April, the two regiments of muſqueteers, at the head of ſeveral detachments of infantry, were appointed for this enterprize [r]. If ever the reputation of valour, and that emulation it naturally inſpires, can render an action important to a ſoldier, it muſt have been this. A day, ſays *Peliſſon*, was of the utmoſt conſequence at this conjuncture. Accordingly, our forces were ordered to make an impetuous aſſault, and force down every impediment to their entrance. Nothing, indeed, was capable of reſiſting the fury of the troops; they carried the paliſadoes, foſſe, counterſcarpe, and all the enemy's works with amazing celerity. The muſqueteers, ſupported by the battalions of Artois and Maine, penetrated into the lower town. The aſtoniſhed governor beat a parley, ſent hoſtages with all expedition, and ſurrendered at diſcretion. In theſe repeated attacks, whoſe ſucceſſion was ſo quick, they ſeemed but one; there were only eleven men killed, and ſeventeen wounded. *La Hoguette*, an enſign in the firſt troop, was wounded in the thigh by a bayonet: and a cannon ball occaſioned a few contuſions to Janoille, captain-lieutenant, and *de Vins*, ſub-lieutenant in the ſecond troop, but their activity prevented more fatal conſequences.

Whoever attentively conſidered the ſtrength and good order of the fortifications of *Valenciennes*, where there was a garriſon of near 4000 ſoldiers, ammunition and proviſions in abundance, a formidable artillery planted on the ramparts, and other works, together with the averſion of the citizens to the French, and affection for the Spaniſh government, would naturally have concluded the ſiege, muſt have been an enterprize of long duration, vaſt fatigue, and dreadful ſlaughter. That ſide of the city, inveſted by the French, was defended by half-moon batteries to the right and left: in the front was a *crowned work* flanked with palliſadoes, and pointed ſpikes, and a foſſeé *cut* tranſverſly. Within the crowned work was, likewiſe, another half-moon; and beyond this half-moon a branch of the river Eſcaut. *Laſt of all*, a work called the *paté*, and then the full channel of the river flowed in a deep rapid ſtream, an additional fence betwixt the *paté* and the walls of *Valenciennes*, whoſe noble ramparts, with their cannon, and that mounted on two baſtions, guarded the out-works. On the 9th of March, 1667, the trenches were opened before it; and on the 16th at night

[r] Monſieur *Maupertius* told them, when they were preparing to attack the *Caſſous*, that his orders were to kill every man who ſhould quit his ranks precipitately, before the general engagement; the king having remarked, with extreme ſenſibility, that their ungoverned ardour had ſometimes proved fatal to their lives.

night the muſqueteers, with the houſehold [s] grenadiers, and ſome large detachments from the regiments of guards, and that of Picardy, received orders to be in readineſs; and at nine the next morning they attacked, and carried the [t] crowned work, without loſs of time. "Preſently, ſays Peliſſon, the king was able to diſtinguiſh his muſqueteers, by their ſcarlet coats, to be in poſſeſſion of that half-moon within the crowned work. This advance, continues he, appeared incredible, as their orders extended no farther than making themſelves maſters of the crowned work, which his majeſty thought ſufficient for a firſt eſſay." But if the commencement of the action ſurpaſſed all expectation, the concluſion ſtill more encreaſed the aſtoniſhment of the ſpectators. A bridge, thrown over the ſmall branch of the river, maintained the communication of the half-moon and the *paté*; and the paſſage to this bridge was defended by a barrier of large pointed ſtakes, with a wicket through which only one man could paſs at a time. Whilſt the firſt party of muſqueteers endeavoured to force this paſſage, the reſt who followed, mounted the barrier, and braving the enemies muſquets and bayonets, leaped over it ſword in hand. The Spaniards, intimidated, abandoned the wicket, and fled over the bridge; the French purſued them to the *paté*, which they attacked, and carried with equal rapidity as the former works. Behold them now on the point of being inevitably cruſhed by the cannon on the ramparts, when the white [u] muſqueteers eſpied a little door, and, forcing it open, diſcovered a narrow ſtair-caſe contrived within the wall; they aſcended, and found themſelves at the ſummit of the *paté*. There they met with another door that opened into a gallery built upon the great canal of the Eſcaut, and which conducted them to the ramparts, from whence they deſcended into a ſtreet communicating with the city by a bridge thrown acroſs a third branch of the *Eſcaut*. *Moiſſac* and *la Barre*, a cornet and quarter-maſter who led the van, took poſſeſſion of ſome windows in the adjacent houſes, from which the fire of the muſqueteers might command the bridge, and protect the troops who defended it with incredible valour. The cavalry of the garriſon attacked them, and were repulſed three times without gaining an inch of ground, notwithſtanding their ſuperiority in number. The infantry endeavoured to encloſe them by the paſſage from

Ibid. p. 192.

[s] Houſe grenadiers eſtabliſhed in the end of the year 1676, and incorporated with the houſehold troops: they at firſt conſiſted only of fourſcore quarter-maſters, and from the name of their firſt commander, were called *Ristori*.

[t] The troops marched at the back of the two foremoſt half-moons, without attacking them, becauſe they muſt neceſſarily fall with the crowned works, which overlooked them on each ſide.

[u] So called from their white hair.

from the rampart; but there they met with a brave reſiſtance from a ſquadron of the black muſqueteers, and houſehold grenadiers. The citizens, in the utmoſt conſternation, aſſembled their magiſtrates, and requeſted a conference with Moiſſac, who gave and received hoſtages till he could deliver their terms of capitulation to the king. There was no time to loſe in preventing the plunder of the city; already the regiment of guards, and that of Picardy, began to enter promiſcuouſly; ſome of the grenadiers having let down the [x] draw-bridge over the great canal. "I don't know, ſays Parrey, whether hiſtory fur-"niſhes many inſtances of an enterprize ſo ſpeedily and happily exe-"cuted, where a large and well-fortified city, amply provided with "every thing neceſſary for defence, ſurrendered with ſo little reſiſt-"ance. The whole appears wonderful, and was generally attributed "to the judicious temerity of the muſqueteers." This epithet might properly be applied to their conduct; their ardent and animated courage was corrected by reflection and prudence: every circumſtance of the action is characteriſtical of true valour; of that heroiſm which exalts human nature above itſelf, enabling it to triumph, contrary to expectation, over dangers which ſeem to threaten unavoidable deſtruction. *Valenciennes* ſurrendered on the 17th of March 1677: nor were the muſqueteers leſs inſtrumental in determining the battle of Caſſel, fought April 11th. The French army was commanded by *Monſieur* the king's brother; that of the enemy by the prince of *Orange*. The former diſputed the paſſage of the river, breaking, and putting to flight the firſt troops who attempted to ford. "But, ſays *Peliſſon*, we after-"wards found more difficulty; for ſome regiments of infantry, * par-"ticularly the prince of Orange's guards, never quitted their ranks, P. 231. "nor gave way, till they were all cut to pieces. Our cavalry, conti-"nues he, whoſe approach the enemy waited for (their pikes lowered) "behind the ſhelter of ſome hedges, advanced, but without daring "to make the attack, till the muſqueteers diſmounting, ſupported by "four battalions of Navarre and Humieres, fell upon their adverſa-"ries, ſword in hand." In another letter this writer, p. 289, ſays, "That quitting their horſes, the muſqueteers performed wonders; "but

[x] I have obſerved that the great channel of the Eſcaut ſerved as a foſſe between the city walls, and the *paté*. After the latter was taken by the muſqueteers, they would have entered the city with the flying enemy, had not the beſieged drawn up the bridge to prevent them.

* In every page of *Peliſſon* it excites our amazement, that a man ſelected by Louis XIV. to be his hiſtoriographer, ſhould write ſo incorrectly. The paucity and inelegance of his ſtyle, abounding with falſe conſtructions, are inconceivable; and his manner, ſometimes, of relating the particulars of an action, too plainly indicates his ignorance of military affairs.

" but their retiring after the action, in order to remount, occaſioned " ſome battalions in the rear, apprehending they had met with a repulſe, " to follow them." Amidſt the intricacy of this dry, and inaccurate narration, let us endeavour to form ſome intelligible idea of the action. The prince of Orange's guards, and two other battalions were entrenched, with a foſſé, and ſome lofty hedges in front. The halberdiers formed the firſt line, whilſt the ranks ſtationed behind, fired inceſſantly over their heads upon the *French* cavalry who attempted to leap the foſſé, repulſing them twice with great diſorder. The muſqueteers, the uſual reſource in ſuch exigencies, were ordered to advance; inſtantly they diſmounted, and marched up to the enemy. It ſeemed as if the foſſé was become a level, and the hedges no longer an impediment, whilſt the impetuous velocity of their motion rendered the fire of the enemy ineffectual. They encountered theſe Coloſſus's armed with pikes, broke and overturned their ranks, demonſtrating that greatneſs of ſoul ought always to be conſidered as the true military ſtrength. Leaving thoſe battalions, who followed them, to purſue the defeat and ſlaughter of the vanquiſhed, the muſqueteers vaulted with alacrity into their ſaddles, ready to execute freſh orders; nor were they tardy on receiving them, but immediately charged, and put to flight a large body of cavalry, who were wheeling round in different movements; but whoſe particular object was to join the camp before St. [y] *Omers*. On the day ſucceeding this memorable one, *Monſieur* diſpatched ſome orders to the commanding officers of the muſqueteers, concluding thus; " The gallantry of this corps opened the way to victory, and influenced the fate of the action." I ſhall forbear ſignalizing their exploits at the ſieges of Ypres, Courtray, Philipſburg, Mons, or [z] Namur, though equally worthy of being recorded in the military annals of France with thoſe I have related; but it is not my intention to write their hiſtory; I only mean to develope their conduct in thoſe unfortunate moments, and delicate ſituations, which are the criterion of genuine courage.

See p. 123.

[y] *Monſieur* was beſieging St. Omers, and had gained a march on the prince of Orange, who was haſtening to its relief.

[z] At the attack of the counterſcarpe, at the ſiege of Ypres, 1678. " Our troops, ſays Peliſſon, did not behave with their wonted vigour, a ſingle detachment of fifty muſqueteers (only) recovered the day; placing themſelves in the van, they cried out *Garé* (clear the road) as if they were riding poſt to Ypres. They entered the counterſcarpe with irreſiſtible fury, and forced the enemy to abandon it." Ypres capitulated the following day. At the ſiege of Mons, the two battalions appointed to attack the horned works, having been repulſed, and appearing greatly intimidated, Louis XIV. ſaid, ſomewhat contemptuouſly: I ſhall ſend a body of troops to ſupply their deficiency, who will not be repulſed: accordingly, the muſqueteers were ordered for that ſervice the next morning, and carried the entrenchments.

See p. 123. L. 3. p. 237.

The battle of *Ramillies* was fought on *Whitſunday*, the 23d of May, 1706. The army of *France* conſiſted of 40,000, that of the allies of 65,000 men. The royal guards, grenadiers, light-horſe, muſqueteers, and horſe-grenadiers formed the firſt line of the right wing of the French; they began the onſet, diſordering and breaking four lines of the enemy's left; they carried off ſome priſoners, and ſix pieces of artillery. It was with too much facility that this advantage was ſnatched from them by the duke of Marlborough, who availed himſelf of the bad diſpoſition made by our generals, and the errors they were guilty of during the action. Six battalions of cavalry, and a few regiments of dragoons, ſtationed in the valley of Tavieres, were too inconſiderable a force to defend and cover our right wing in flank. An impaſſable moraſs, which lay between our left and the enemies right, reciprocally prevented their coming to an engagement: for which reaſon the duke of Marlborough, certain of running no *hazard* in weakening of it, drew off fifty ſquadrons from his right wing to reinforce his left. From this *manœuvre*, the houſehold troops, who, as I obſerved, had broke four lines of the left of the allies, in an inſtant beheld themſelves invaded by freſh ſquadrons, whilſt thoſe who had been defeated had an opportunity given them to rally in the rear. At the ſame time *Marlborough* commanded a body of reſerve to engage thoſe battalions in the valley of *Tavieres*; incapable of reſiſting ſuperior number they retreated, and by their flight the right wing became expoſed to the enemies fire. The cavalry, which compoſed the ſecond line behind the houſehold troops, attempted to gain the front, by wheeling off to the right and left; but it was impoſſible this evolution could be compleated ſpeedily enough to anticipate the arrival of the enemy, who advanced with amazing rapidity to take them in flank: the neareſt ſquadrons were overwhelmed; the moſt diſtant fled: encompaſſed on all ſides, the houſehold troops forced a paſſage, and joined the left wing. In all probability, had the French generals directed their operations by thoſe of the duke of *Marlborough*, and drawn off their forces, by a contrary movement, from the left wing to the right, and by this method reinforcing the troops in the valley, the day might have been ours. For, according to the enemies report, the loſs, on both ſides, was pretty near an equality; nor did they think of purſuit, or had cauſe to boaſt of any other advantage than the bare honour of remaining maſters of the field. Our left wing, with the houſehold troops, retired in good order unmoleſted; even the cavalry and infantry of the right, though beaten, retreated with tolerable regularity, when

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an unexpected accident rendered this one of the blackeſt days France had ever ſeen. Some chariots breaking down in paſſing a defile, occaſioned an embarraſſment among the troops, who imagined they heard the approaching ſhouts of the enemy: the abſence of their generals, and the ſmall degree of confidence they placed in their conduct, encreaſed the panick; they diſperſed, and fled different ways. Marlborough, informed by his couriers of their diſorder, detached a party of cavalry and dragoons to purſue them, who intercepted them in their rout, cut them in pieces, and ſpared no priſoners till they were wearied with ſlaughter: waggons, ammunition, artillery, all fell into the hands of the allies.

A particular detail of the battle of *Malplaquet* is foreign to my purpoſe. The houſehold troops charged the enemies cavalry four times, and as often drove them back upon their infantry. When the *French* army abandoned the field of battle, they marched in the rear; they retreated, but it was the retreat of a wounded lion; purſued too cloſely, they ſtill kept the enemy at bay. The muſqueteers gave that day a proof of the irreſiſtable influence of honour over natural diſpoſition and character. Theſe regiments, hitherto deſcribed glowing with impetuous ardour, eager to engage, and trembling with impatience under the orders that reſtrained them, ſuſtained for five ſucceſſive hours the fire from a battery of thirty cannon. An undaunted ſerenity of countenance diſtinguiſhed them in one of thoſe cruel and intereſting ſituations, where it is diſhonourable for a man to quit his ſtation, and by a vigorous effort, ſtrive to encounter with the conſuming fire, though convinced he muſt inevitably periſh by maintaining his poſt. Compliance with this natural impulſe of the ſoul, would here be conſtrued puſilanimity. We muſt expect death; ſtand firm in our places, dare to look him in the face; behold, for hours together, the terror of his blaſting hand paſs over our heads, mowing down whole ranks before us.

In 1724, at the inveſtiture of Philipſburg, when the houſehold troops were ordered to form the lines, the muſqueteers were again expoſed a long time to the fire of a very briſk cannonade, which they ſupported with the ſame calm intrepidity. This was the firſt operation of the campaign after a long peace: ſo that very few of the troops had ever ſeen a battle. Ought we to be tenacious of encomiums on an eſtabliſhment, whoſe exalted honour and reputation ſeem to have impreſſed

preſſed their ſignature on the hearts of all the youth enliſted under their banner? When at *Ramillies*, *Malplaquet*, and *Dettingen* they brought back the bleeding remains of troops, which the enemy did not dare attack, ſhall their conduct be deemed leſs laudable than when they gathered laurels for their maſter in the plains of Fontenoy?

FINIS.

ERRATA.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE GREEKS.

Dedication, *Page* 2. *Line* 1. *for* deſcriminate, *read* diſcriminate; *p.* 2. *l.* 8. *r.* Philoſopher that; *p.* 4. *l.* 15. *r.* Peloponneſus; *p.* 17. *l.* 2. *r.* immutable; *p.* 23. *l.* 8 *r.* them *to* manage; *p.* 26. *l.* 4 *r.* to be; *p.* 27. *l.* 16. *leave out* the; *Note r*, Cyropœdia; *p.* 35. *r.* Ecbatana; *p.* 79. *l.* 13. *r. into* factions; *p.* 84. *l.* 27. *(and note) r.* Phalanx; *p.* 99. *l.* 4. *r.* Oelius; *l.* 21. *r.* Cottyphus; *p.* 113. *l.* 9. *leave out the*; *p.* 115. *l.* 1. *r.* luſtre; *p.* 116. *l.* 6. *add an* s *to* government; *l.* 20. *r.* ideal; *p.* 122. *l.* 16. *for* looſing, *r.* loſing; *p.* 123. *l.* 27. *for* Joſthenes, *r.* Soſthenes; *p.* 136. *l.* 1. for abuſed, *r.* abſurd; *p.* 138. *l.* 8. *for* was, *r.* were.

In the HISTORY OF PARIS, PART I.

Page 2. *Line* 5 *for* adorned, *read* adored; *add an* h *to were*; *p.* 6. *l.* 4. *r.* Sibarge; *p.* 12. *r.* Armagnac, *and* Conciergerie; *p.* 24. *l.* 13. *add an* f *to* of; *p.* 25. *r.* d' Eſtainville; *l.* 87. *for* were, *r.* where; *p.* 57. *l.* 13. *after* condeſcenſion, *r.* he; *p.* 62. *l.* 17. *for* there, *r.* they; *p.* 66. *l.* 33. *r.* a *before proceſs*; *p.* 85. *laſt line but two*, *r.* Nancai.

PART II.

Page 2. *Line* 15. *for* populous, *read* populace; *p.* 3. *l.* 1. *for* that, *r.* the; *p.* 8. *l.* 8. *r.* Perrault; *p.* 13. *l.* 26. *r.* Senlis: *p.* 17. *l.* 8. *r.* Mithras; *p.* 18. *l.* 4. *for* Condray, *r.* Coudrai; *p.* 27. *l.* 20. *r.* Gondeband; *l.* 22. *for* Ananiſm, *r.* Arianiſm; *p.* 29. *l.* 35 *and* 36. *for*, the firſt aſſemblies held in the field of Mars, *r.* in the firſt annual field aſſemblies held in March and May; *p.* 31. *l.* 18. *r.* appertained; *p.* 32. *l.* 31. *leave out* to; *encloſe within a parentheſis from* (who, to Pepin.) *p.* 41. *l.* 31. *for* did not find themſelves, *r.* found themſelves.

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